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## ART. I.—THE SPIRIT OF PROPHECY.

THE Testimony of Jesus Christ, we have seen, is the universe of truth, proceeding forth from Him as its origin and source, held together in Him through its entire extent as the one sole principle of its being, and returning to Him again as its necessary end. From Him, by Him, and to Him, are all things. All that is comprehended in the ideas of creation, providence, and redemption, all the actualities of the world of nature, and all the realities of the world of mind or spirit, come together and stand together in Him, as a single constitution, bearing upon it everywhere the impress of His wisdom, goodness and power, and conspiring everywhere in one and the same witness to His glory.

He is thus continually present and active in all the forms of outward material existence. They are not only from Him by virtue of the fiat which originally spake them into being; but they remain in being only through the power of that same speech or word, active in them every moment as at the first. This we see, not by outward sense, but by inward intellectual vision; namely, "that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear" (Heb. xi. 3); and this being so, we see just as plainly (if such super-bestial intelligence be in us at all) that it is only by the word of God thus always in them, as invisible spirit and life, that these phenomenal existences can ever have in themselves

any true and proper reality whatever. Thus it is that the truth which is in the things of the natural world universally—the things in which natural science is so prone to stop and stay self-complacently, as if the mere sense-side of them were in some way the beginning and end of all they mean—is in fact the constant presence and power of the very word and voice of the Lord there, reaching into them inwardly from the spiritual world, and causing them to have in this and from this perpetually all that serves to make them of any account either for life or for science. In the idea of this informing voice or word only can nature be said to have in it any animating soul, any wisdom, any order, any law, any light. All these conceptions meet together in the fundamental comprehensive designation, TRUTH; and in this way refer themselves everywhere, directly and immediately, to the kingdom of truth at large of which Christ is the one only absolute King. The kingdom, which He came into the world, according to His own declaration, to advance to its supreme perfection in the way of living self-testimony; by taking upon Him the form of our weak and fallen humanity, and then returning with it, through boundless battle with the powers of hell, to the full glory which He had with the Father before the foundation of the world. An actual self-sanctification (John xvii. 19) in this way; the true finishing of the work (John xvii. 4) which the Father had given Him to do; a real going before His people as the author and finisher of the Christian faith, by which “being made perfect He became the cause or power of eternal salvation unto all them that obey Him” (Heb. v. 9; xii. 2).

Here, in the sphere of intelligence and freedom, we come as it were into the inner realm of truth, as compared with the general externality of nature, and may the more readily see accordingly, what is to be understood by its actuating force entering as the thought or voice of God into the universal constitution of the world. It is the reign still of law, order, wisdom and right; but the reign of all these now in higher self-moving form, as mediated by the action of created mind acknowledging and ac

cepting them as its own. It is the natural, raised through the rational and moral to the spiritual; the region in the end of all that is comprehended in the full testimony of Jesus, through which life and immortality are brought to light in their profoundest and most far-reaching view; whereby, as we have seen, all worlds and all heavens are joined together in their inmost life as one in Him, who is at once the principle and the end of their universal being.

Here it is that we are introduced to the idea REVELATION, as the presence of the Divine voice or word, transcending the realm of mere nature altogether, and making itself answerable to the higher realm of spirit. Thus in the opening of the Epistle to the Hebrews it is said: "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son, whom He hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also He made the worlds; who being the brightness of His glory, and the express image of His person, and upholding all things by the word of His power, when He had by Himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high; being made so much better than the angels, as He hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they."

In this most pregnant passage, we are made to feel very distinctly the intimate connection there is between the kingdom of truth in the natural creation, and the same kingdom in the higher creation of the spirit; while at the same time this last is felt to be immeasurably nearer than the other to Him who is the central sun of the kingdom. It is by the word of His power, all things have been made and are still upheld in their natural existence; and by the same word, He speaks and works in the formation of the new heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. But in the one case it is the voice of nature simply, as we commonly call it; in the other case, it is the voice of revelation; and the difference between these two voices is as the distance between earth and heaven. Revelation itself, moreover, is here presented to us in its true

character and form. It might seem at first, as if some opposition were intended to be expressed between its older forms, as "spoken unto the fathers by the prophets," and what it has become in these last days as spoken by our Lord Jesus Christ. But the opposition is only in appearance, like that between earlier and later development in the progression of all real life. Revelation, in this view, has been one life from the beginning, the WORD OF GOD, as it styles itself, sounding through the ages with various utterance and tone, but looking onward always to the advent of the Word Incarnate, in whose voice only it was possible for it to become ultimately full and complete. That is what is meant by the declaration, "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son." In Him all previous prophecy, all older voicing of the Divine mind, comes to its end. He is The Prophet, eminently so-called, to whom all the prophets before Him gave witness (Acts x. 43); and in whom was fulfilled once for all that ancient promise: "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto Him shall ye hearken" (Deut. xviii. 15).

Thus we reach what must be considered the sense in brief of the angelic declaration, *The Testimony of Jesus is the Spirit of Prophecy.*

Let us, in the first place, direct our attention to the way, in which these two ideas of testimony and prophecy are made to flow together everywhere in the Apocalypse. Prophecy here means primarily the Divine word contained in this revelation itself; as where it is said, "Blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book." But this, we can see at once, involves a great deal more than any particular sayings or teachings found in the Apocalypse; since the design of the book is professedly to open the way for the disclosure, at the proper time, of the full sense of the entire previously existing Word of God, as that is to be reached only through His second advent, the scope regarded in the Apocalypse from beginning to



end. It is in reality, therefore, the word of God at large, which is made here to stand throughout in such complemental relation to the testimony of Jesus Christ, that while we feel their difference we cannot help feeling at the same time that they are regarded as forming together but one and the same life. This might offer no difficulty for ordinary thought, if the testimony of Jesus Christ signified simply witness concerning Him; and that is the way, no doubt, in which the sense of what is here said is commonly taken; as if all came to this only, that the word of God is to be regarded as in some way, universally, the sure attestation of Christ's glorious evangelical mission and work in the world. But nothing can be clearer in fact, as has been already shown, than that the relation between testimony and prophecy in the Apocalypse is not at all of any such outward mechanical order as this. Christ is absolutely His own testimony; in such sort that all other witness-bearing in His favor, whether angelic or human, or from the world of nature below man, is in truth only light from Himself reflected back, as it were, upon its original source. In this sense He declares Himself to be the AMEN, the faithful and true Witness, the Beginning of the Creation of God. That is what He is for the natural creation; and that is what He is also, in still more intimate and full sense, for the spiritual creation. They are, each in its own order and degree, spheres flowing forth around Him from His own central life, having part in this continually, and yet standing continually over against it also, with separate existence, as the manifestation of His power and glory. In the spiritual creation, this circumambient sphere of the Divine is the spoken and written word of God (the self-testimony of Jesus Christ), as we have it in the Bible. That unquestionably is the relation which the living Lord and the word of prophecy are regarded as holding to each other, all through the Revelation of St. John the Divine; and on which the full light of heaven is made to descend more particularly, we may say, in the voice of the angel: "I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus; worship God; for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy."

But just here now, it is not to be disguised, we are brought face to face with what must ever be for the merely natural mind an insuperable stumbling-block and offence, in the way of the whole subject with which our present discussion is concerned. If the word of prophecy is to be considered, in the way we have now stated, not simply testimony toward the Lord and concerning Him in any outside view, but testimony from the Lord Himself, issuing forth directly from His own Divine life in the very power of this life itself, it must follow that the life of the Lord is actually in such word of prophecy, in a real and not merely figurative or tropical manner. But how, it is asked, can such life be actually resident in words spoken, when the speech itself is at an end? Or more confounding still, how can it be in words written or printed in a book, and so passed on from one age to another? Can even Divine oracles be said to have in them any actual Divine life in that way? Surely any supposition of this sort may well be counted incredible, and quite at war with common sense; enough in short to justify in full the old interrogatories: How can these things be? This is a hard saying; who can hear it? (John iii. 9; vi. 60).

To all such skeptical ratiocination, however, we have only to say at this point, that the stumbling-block over which it falls is actually there, where it seems to be, in the teaching of the Apocalypse itself, and is not by any possibility to be spirited out of the way by hysterical appeals to common sense or natural logic. The testimony of Jesus and the spirit of prophecy are in truth so brought together here, that the life and power of the one are made to appear directly as the life and power also of the other. The prophecy, or word of revelation, is not before the testimony or from beyond it, but after it in the order of real existence (John i. 15), and from within it; related to it in fact, as the body is to the soul which it proceeds from and surrounds, and without which it can never be more than an inanimate corpse. As the soul is the life of the body, so the testimony of Jesus, in its boundless plenitude of ever-living, ever-active truth and grace, is the spirit and animating soul of

all prophecy, or of the universal world of Divine revelation. This must mean, of course, that there is in the constitution of God's word itself as such, wherever found, whether spoken or written, an inward nature different from all other speech or writing, nothing less in reality than a Divine life of its own, derived from the life which it is thus made to enshrine. It has in it the quality of the living, self-affirming testimony of Jesus Christ, which is here declared to be its indwelling and informing spirit. How otherwise indeed should it be the very word of God at all, with any real distinction from the word of man? Offence or no offence, then, that is what the Apocalyptic idea of God's word we say plainly means; and it is for the rationalistic habit of thought we have mentioned to dispose of it as it best can.

But the idea, as we shall see, extends far beyond the Apocalypse. Whatever difficulty there may appear to be in it, any earnest consideration of the New Testament must show that the same view of revealed truth runs through it generally; and that it characterizes especially the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, from whom as the Word incarnate the written Word of the Gospel derives its universal substance and form. Centrally, as we often rightly say, He was in the days of His flesh, as He still is in His glory, the entire Gospel. All its powers and possibilities were comprehended in His person. But its presence there required and necessitated its going forth from Him in the way of outward self-revelation, that is, in the way of actual works and words of redemption, without which His being in the world could have had no meaning. Can we now, however, possibly conceive of this effluent life, whether as work or word, so losing itself in the surrounding world ever, as to become something absolutely apart from its Divine source in Him, running its course and doing its office afterward in mere outward earthly form? It were well for all of us to think seriously within ourselves what that question means; and not to stop thinking, till we have within ourselves an answer, yea or nay, that we can look steadily in the face. Who cannot see, that to put the miracles of Christ in such purely outside rela-

tion to His living person, must amount to resolving them into mere magic? And can it be any less sacrilegious, we ask in all seriousness, to treat His parables in this way, or His words generally (which in truth are all parables, having in them celestial and divine life), by resolving them into ordinary human thought or speech, though even of the highest kind?

Whatever we may think of the subject, looking at it in this manner, there is no room for any doubt at all as to the actual mind of Christ Himself in regard to it, clearly expressed as it is in every part of the Gospel. As His miracles were wrought by virtue that went out of Him, with inward perception, as part of Himself, so also the words that He spake had in them divine power and grace, which He knew to be part of His own life in the same way.

The passage John vi. 63, with its context, is of cardinal authority on this point. The occasion will be remembered: the memorable discourse of our Lord at Capernaum, in which He declared Himself to be what the manna signified of old to the Israelites in the wilderness, namely, the true bread of God, which had come down from heaven to give life to the world; and then went on to speak of His flesh as being this bread, declaring His flesh, in so many words, to be bread indeed, and His blood to be drink indeed, and making eternal life to be incorporation with Himself, by eating the one and drinking the other. Many, we are told, who had joined themselves to Him superficially as disciples, when they heard all this were offended, taking His words in their sheerest natural meaning. Thousands of professed disciples since their time have managed to get clear of the offence, by turning it into strong figure of speech; only substituting in this way, however, the naturalism of spiritualistic thought for the naturalism of materialistic sense. Our Lord places the true solution of the enigma in the mystery of His own life, as this was to be perfected soon in the coming glorification of His humanity, the "ascending up of the Son of man where He was before;" the same key exactly, that is presented darkly to Nicodemus (John iii. 12, 13), in explana-

tion of the new birth; and then adds (in full parallelism again with what is said of this new birth, John iii. 6): "It is the spirit that vivifies, the flesh profiteth nothing:" "the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life." The declaration regards immediately the hard sayings He had just been uttering in the synagogue of Capernaum. But it is intended plainly to set forth a general truth, and to express what must be considered the essential necessary character of all words proceeding from Him as a Divine Prophet. They must have in them universally the quality of His own being. That stood centrally in the power and glory of the substantial heavenly and spiritual world; beyond the whole shadowy realm of matter, time and space; and it was not possible, therefore, that His words, the direct outgoing of His life in such form, should not be themselves interiorly pregnant also with the celestial fire of that life.

That we are not wrong in this construction of the case, becomes abundantly clear from what follows; when the Saviour says to the twelve: "Will ye also go away"? and the thrilling answer is at once returned: "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast words of eternal life; and we believe and are sure that Thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God." Our English text gives it, "Thou hast *the* words of eternal life"; unfortunately helping in that way the common misconception of the thought, by which it is taken to mean simply that the teaching of Christ regards eternal life, and leads to it; or in other words, is a true doctrine of eternal life. But that falls immeasurably short of the real sense of this apostolic confession (as also of Peter's rock-faith, Matt. xvi. 16, derived not from flesh and blood, but directly heaven-born); the confession meaning here most certainly, not *the* words of eternal life didactically understood, but, without the article, words having in themselves eternal life—with plain reference to the Master's own self-testimony just before, "The words that I speak unto you, they *are* spirit and they *are* life." The truth of this, these first confessors had learned from actual experiment. They felt in themselves

what as yet they had no power at all to explain or understand. The words of Christ were for them Divinely vivific. They had in them the quickening, energizing vitality of the life of the Lord Himself, and in this way such power of spiritual consociation with Him as formed for these disciples even at that time a blessed antepast of the subsequent grand assurance, "Because I live ye shall live also."

And surely no one can read the New Testament with serious attention, without perceiving that just this character of life from the Lord is regarded as going along with His words universally, making them to be thus a real and not merely imaginary medium of communication with His own living spirit. Only in such view can we at all understand, for example, the Sermon on the Mount. It consists of precepts throughout which are practical more than doctrinal; and which it is the fashion with some, accordingly, to parade as the confession of their Christian faith in such merely ethical view, for the purpose of depreciating the significance of what they suppose to be theological faith, or belief in Christian dogma, regarded as being in any way the power of Christian practice. But it is easy to see that the words of Christ, in this great sermon, mean infinitely more than any such simply ethical or moral instruction in common human form. They refer themselves at every point to the super-natural or spiritual, as the true effectual soul of all that they are in the lower moral and natural sphere, and involve the idea of this as something directly in the Divine utterance itself from which they proceed. Hence the impression, "Never man spake like this man" (John vii. 46). "He taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes" (Matt. vii. 29). And how grandly all this is brought out by Himself in the conclusion of His discourse. "Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them"—the doing possible only through the power of the voice heard—"I will liken him unto a wise man which built his house upon a rock"—the very faith of which it is said, on this rock I will build my Church—"and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat

upon that house; and it fell not; for it was *founded* upon a rock." But on the other hand: "Every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not"—the hearing in that case being outward only, and not reaching at all to the actual living *voice* of the Lord in His own words—he "shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand: and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell; and great was the fall of it" (Matt. vii. 24-27). We could not well have a better example than this very passage itself, to bring home to the sense of all who have the inward ear to hear, what the voice of Christ is in His Word as spirit and life, in distinction from its outward sound, as syllabled in common human speech.

If we wish, however, to see in full the place which belongs to the words of Christ in the economy of His kingdom, under the view we are now trying to enforce, we must turn our gaze most especially of all on His own teaching in regard to it at the close of His earthly life, and just before His heavenly glorification. The field for study here is wide, and radiant with celestial light. We can only glance at it now in the most cursory manner.

The end of religion is full union with God. This is made possible for man only through the coming of our Lord into the world, and the raising of His own humanity first of all to the throne of the Majesty on high; whereby room was made for the going forth of the grace and truth which were in Him, by what is called the sending of the Holy Ghost—the great promise of the Gospel, comprehensive of all else belonging to it as the power of God unto salvation. Hence to His sorrowing disciples Christ says: "Let not your heart be troubled; believe in God, believe also in Me"—that is, let your belief in God fix itself directly on ME, as the actual being and presence of God in human form. "I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father, but by Me." Again: "I will not leave you comfortless; I will come to you. Yet a little while, and the world seeth me no more; but ye see me"—by



virtue of the faith which was already in them as a vein of life from His own person; and so, "because I live, ye shall live also. In that day ye shall know that I am in my Father and ye in Me, and I in you." What tongue can express, what thought grasp in full, the height and depth, the length and breadth, of such Divine speech as this! But then comes the question: How can all this be? The difficulty in fact of Thomas: "Lord, we know not whither Thou goest, and how can we know the way?" The difficulty involved in Philip's confusion: "Lord, show us the Father, and it sufficeth us." The difficulty that millions have felt since, in the same stage of imperfect Christian experience. How is such life-union of the soul with God in Jesus Christ to pass beyond doctrine and promise into the form of actual fact? In this inquiry we meet the inmost nucleus of the Gospel, the problem in short of regeneration, rightly understood, as the only door of real admission into the kingdom of God. Does the inquiry find now any solution here, where it would seem most of all proper to look for it, in this parting discourse of the Saviour on the very eve of His triumphant glorification?

All find, of course, a general answer to the question, in the promise of the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of truth, whose coming was to follow His own going away, and who when He should come was to guide His followers into all truth. But the inquiry still comes back: How was this office of the Holy Ghost to be discharged, so as to effectuate a real and not merely notional conjunction of the Divine life with the human in the way here required and promised, namely, "Ye in Me, and I in you"?

In reply to this we are met at once, in the Christian world, with the two opposing theories of private judgment, as it is called, and church-authority; both pretending to be ruled by the Word of God, but each claiming at the same time to be the organ of the Divine Spirit for the right understanding of the Word. The private judgment may be simply the common reason of men; or it may take the form of a supposed "inward

light," having in it the power of direct conjunction with God. In either case, it thrusts itself in between God and the Written Word, using this last really as outward natural knowledge only in the service of its own fancied higher position; by which means the word ceases to be a rule of faith altogether, and is turned into a mere kaleidoscope of all sorts of opinion put into it from the outside. Hence the common easy and cheap argument then in favor of the other theory, the notion of outward church authority, as the seeming necessary alternative to such endless confusion. But what is this we ask other than the naturalism of private judgment over again; affecting as before to come between God and His word; in that way, making itself to be an outward mechanical rule of faith; and thus virtually denying altogether the presence of any actually living rule of faith whatever in God's Word? To this it comes at the last with all such high church pretension, whether in Papal, Greek, or Anglican form; and the case is not improved certainly, by metempsychosis into either Lutheran or Reformed Confessions. Every Protestant denomination does in fact try to make itself the living soul of the Bible in this way. But the result, as we see on all sides, is only Babel.

So much, in this place, for these opposing theories. They are alike unsatisfactory; and we notice them here only for the purpose of fastening attention the more effectually on what our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, in His valedictory teaching now before us, declares to be the one only rule and mode and method of coming into that vital union with the truth in Himself, which is no theory or dream simply, but the veritable power and blessedness of eternal life.

All was to be by the Holy Ghost, of course, the effluent operation of His own glorified life; but not by the Holy Ghost working either spiritualistically on single minds in their merely natural life, or magically through the outside authority of the Church. It could be only by a medium making it possible for the human spirit to come into the very element of this Divine life in an objective and not merely subjective way; and

that medium is most explicitly declared to be the word of the Lord, voiced or written, issuing from Himself and having in it thus the presence of His own life. The thought answers exactly to what is said of the Old Testament sanctuary and its arrangements—all made, we are told (Heb. viii. 5), as the example and shadow of heavenly things, according to the pattern shown to Moses in the mount: "THERE I will meet with the children of Israel, and the tabernacle shall be sanctified by MY GLORY. And I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will be their God. And they shall KNOW that I am Jehovah their God, that brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, that I may dwell among them: I am Jehovah their God." (Ex. xxix. 43-46).

What our Saviour lays such stress upon, reiterating it over and over again, in the case now before us, is just this idea of the outward revelation of truth proceeding from Himself; as having in itself, therefore, spirit and life not of earth but of heaven; and as constituting thus a real place of meeting or coming together between His own Spirit and the spirits of men, by which these might become one with Him more and more in the strict sense of His promise, "Because I live ye shall live also."

"If ye love Me, *keep my commandments*; and I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you forever." See here, at the very outset, how the *keeping* of Christ's words or commandments is made to be the indispensable condition of having part in the mission of the Spirit! Not the knowing of His commandments, but the continuous doing of them; the actual being of the will, it means, and not merely of the understanding, in the words of Christ, seen and felt to be *His* words. That itself, as far as it prevails, is real inhabitation in the love of God (the actuating soul of all Divine truth and law issuing from God), and in this way the embryonic principle at least of like answering love for all who put themselves in such relation to God. And so it follows: "He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that

loveth Me; and he that loveth Me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him." The manifestation plainly in and through the word, made luminous from within itself by the life of the Lord dwelling there. And then when it was asked: How this for us, and yet not for the world? the answer comes again with new startling intensification: "If a man love Me, he will KEEP MY WORDS; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him!" Our permanent abode (*μονήν*), is what the promise means—the true tabernacle of God with men (Rev. xxi. 3). On the other hand, it is added, "He that loveth Me not, keepeth not my sayings" or *words*, as the Greek text has it rightly); which of itself shuts him out from all like vision and taste of the Divine.

Then follows (John xv.) the graphic parable of the vine and the husbandman; where it is said, "Now ye are clean *through the word* which I have spoken unto you;" the sense of which is manifestly that the word spoken unto them had become in them already the principle of new heavenly life, issuing forth from Himself as its fountain. Whence now the exhortation: "Abide in Me, and I in you; as the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine, no more can ye, except ye abide in Me." But how were they thus to abide in Him, so as to make sure of such reciprocal life-relation, yielding more and more, from year to year, its proper spiritual fruit? The answer is, as before; they were to do it, by simply making room in themselves for the presence of Christ in His own words. "If ye abide in Me, and *my words abide in you*, ye shall ask what ye will, and it shall be done unto you. Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit; so shall ye be my disciples." All turning on the mystery of His own glorified life, working in them by the power of His inwardly heard voice or word, like the vital sap of the vine in its branches. "If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love; even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in His love." The nexus in the one case being just what it is in the other; not

logical or didactic simply, and not moral merely, but inwardly dynamic and vital in the supremest degree.

If there could be any doubt otherwise with regard to what we have now shown to be the sense of our Lord's teaching here on this great subject, it ought surely to disappear at once in the light of what He says on the office of the Spirit of truth, through whose procession from Himself His work was now to be continued in the world. "He dwelleth with you," it is said, "and shall be in you"; but not in the way of any agency separate from the Lord Himself; not so as to be at any point outside of the sphere of the Lord's own proper life; and therefore *never* in disjunction from that Divine Revelation, which is called the Word of God, just because the life of the Lord is in it. "The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send *in my name*"—that is, in the full power of all that I am as the Son of God, one with the Father Himself—"He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance whatsoever I have said unto you." Again: "When the Comforter is come, whom *I will send* unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth which proceedeth from the Father, *He shall testify of Me.*" His whole office and work, in other words, were to be the testimony of Jesus, which we have seen to be always in truth *self-testimony*. And so it follows; "When He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He will guide you into all truth; for He shall not speak of Himself; but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak; and He will show you things to come"—things yet latent in the Word, but to be disclosed hereafter. "He shall glorify Me; for He shall receive of Mine, and shall show it unto you. All things that the Father hath are mine; therefore said I, that He shall take of Mine and shall show it unto you."

In one view this looks like limitation and restriction; and it has ever been one of the devices of Satan, accordingly, to assert for the Holy Spirit a wider range of action, in the form of supposed afflatus, particular or general, put forth independently of the Word altogether. But from the time of the Montanists

down to the present day, every such imagination has proved only a hurtful delusion. There can be no dispensation of the Spirit, which is not at the same time the glorifying of Christ in and by His Word. That is the only true home and range of the Holy Ghost; and the very supposition of larger freedom here, in the way of range beyond it, is no better than diabolical insanity. The circumscription of the Spirit by the Word in this way, is the highest conceivable freedom of the Spirit; while it shows at the same time the boundless, inexhaustible fulness of life which is in the Word, that it should be capable of affording such indefinite freedom to the action of the Spirit age after age. And yet men will have it, that *their plummet* has in fact already sounded the entire depth of this ocean; that they have the riches of it stored up in their systems of theology; that the full final measure of it is to be found in their church catechisms and confessions; and that to look at all for any farther large illumination of the Word, through the shining of the Spirit *from within it*, is to dream of a new Bible, as they say, superseding the old one altogether!

In His pontifical prayer, our Lord very distinctly assigns to the Spirit in His Word, the continuation of the service which He had Himself previously rendered to His disciples as the Word Incarnate, during His stay with them in the flesh. That service was His standing between them and the Father, as a medium of life-giving truth, issuing through Him from the Father, whereby they were held apart from the world, in the incipient sanctification of a true heavenly life. But now He was to be removed from them in such outward personal view, and they must be thrown upon the power of His life in its higher spiritual form. So the prayer on this point runs: "I have manifested Thy name unto the men which Thou gavest Me out of the world: Thine they were and Thou gavest them Me; and they have *kept my word*." Note well, here again, the Divine potency ascribed to the mere keeping of the word, the simple being of the soul in the element of spirit and life thus effluent from Himself. "Now they have known that all

things whatsoever Thou hast given Me are of Thee. For I have given unto them *the words which Thou gavest Me*; and they have received them, and have known surely that I came out from Thee, and they have believed that Thou didst send Me." Then: "Now I am no more in the world, but these are in the world, and I come to Thee. Holy Father, keep through Thine own name" (the presence of the glorified Christ in the Word,) "those whom Thou hast given Me, that they may be one as we are. While I was with them in the world, I kept them in Thy name.—And now come I to Thee.—I have given them Thy word.—Sanctify them through Thy truth; Thy word is truth." Pause here also; and consider earnestly what truth and sanctification are in the vocabulary of heaven. Truth, as we have seen, nothing less than the inmost substance of life issuing from the very being of God, the absolute fountain of all life; and sanctification, real conjunction with the Divine, as this is made to flow into the soul through the truth in such view. That is what the Word means here, then, as a principle and power of holiness. It is, in the case of all true believers, an image of Christ, as the Word Incarnate, working out His own glorification or full union with God, so as to open the way for the salvation of His people. And so He adds: "For their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also might be sanctified through the truth."

In discussing this part of our subject, what we may call the spirit of prophecy in the evangelical history of the New Testament, we have kept ourselves closely to one point, the direct teaching of our Lord Himself in regard to the living power of His own spoken words. But it is plain at once, that the same character of life and power must be regarded as extending itself also to His entire work and ministry in the world under every other view. He could not speak and act at any time as a common natural man. The natural in Him had its governing soul continually in the spiritual and Divine, from the beginning of His earthly life to its end. Even in early boyhood He could say: "Wist ye not that I must be about My



Father's business?" The kingdom of heaven was in Him from His infancy, and lay around Him in all His relations to the world from the cradle to the cross. He stood in the bosom of it throughout. "Ye are of this world," He could say to those around Him, "I am not of this world." The order of his life in this view was never, anywhere or in any respect, from the outward to the inward, from the terrestrial to the celestial; but always the other way—the true heavenly order—from the inward to the outward, from the celestial to the terrestrial. His whole thinking, speaking, and working, had their reason and motive power in the sphere of the infinite. He was in the world not to do His own will, but the will of the Father that sent Him; so that He could say: "The words that I speak unto you I speak not of Myself; but the Father that dwelleth in Me He doeth the works." His works were universally in this way parables of the Divine, just as His words also were miracles of the Divine. He was Himself the Gospel He came to publish; the Truth, He was in the world to bear witness to. This is graphically shown at the very beginning of His public ministry in the synagogue of His native Nazareth. When He had opened the book of the prophet Isaiah, we are told, He found the place where it was written: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He hath anointed Me to preach the gospel to the poor; He hath sent Me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord." Whereupon, having closed the book, He sat down; the eyes of all being fastened on Him, as by strange heavenly enchantment; when He began to say unto them, "This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears"; and then went on in such style of more than human speech, that "all bare Him witness, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of His mouth."

The whole life of Christ, while in the world having been of such transcendental order—the presence of the ineffably Divine in the bosom of the natural and ordinarily human—it follows.

necessarily, that the same character must belong also to the evangelical record given of it in the New Testament; if indeed this is to be considered at all a true inspired transcript of the life, in any way answering to its original mystery, as the Church from the beginning has believed and taught. To conceive of the New Testament as only the ordinary writing of man, reporting the heavenly things of Christ, and telling about his life with mere outward description, what He did and what He spake, is the same thing in the end with conceiving of the actual historical Christ Himself under the like merely extrinsical view. The Word of God, in the evangelical record, means a thousand times more than that. It is the inward living self-testimony of Jesus Christ, resident there as spirit and life—the spirit of all true prophecy—just as really as this had place in the gracious words themselves, which proceeded from His mouth in the days of His flesh; just as truly as it dwelt in His person when virtue went out of Him through the hem of His garment, to heal the woman who touched it with trembling faith for that purpose (Matt. ix. 20–22), or, when He put forth His own hand upon the supplicating leper and said, “I will, be thou clean” (Matt. viii. 23.)

The full force of all this, however, comes into view only when we take the revelation of the New Testament in connection with the revelation of the Old Testament. They form together one revelation, given at sundry times and in divers manners, but having for its soul throughout one and the same Divine inspiration, namely, the living and life-giving testimony of the Amen, the Faithful and True Witness Jesus Christ, who is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. We cannot understand either the Old Testament or the New Testament, except as we are taught of God to see each in the other, and rise thus into some apprehension of what the Scriptures themselves mean by their self-distinguishing title, *The Word of God*. To this part of our subject we now come, therefore, as forming what we may call the ultimate cumulation of proof for the great argument we have here in hand.

That the Gospel is to be considered in some way the fulfil-

ment of the Old Testament, all who have any belief in Christianity at all must, of course, admit; since it is expressly affirmed by Christ Himself, and has been a sort of traditional truism for the belief of the Church from the beginning. But it is not to be concealed, that in our time especially this belief has come to be held for the most part, in a very vague and loose sort of way; the consequence of which is a tendency, more and more, to depreciate the worth of the Old Testament, as compared with the New, to place it on a lower level, nay even to see what is felt to be serious discrepancy between its religion and the religion of Christ. After all, it is said, there is little direct specific argument from it even by our Lord Himself, in favor of His Gospel; and much of the small use that is made of it for such purpose, seems to be more in the manner of general accommodation than as strict logical evidence.

But all such skepticism here, though it may be found even in minds otherwise seemingly reverent toward Christianity, proceeds from a false view of the Word of God in general; and a want of power, therefore, to perceive where and how it enters into the constitution of the Old Testament Scriptures in particular. And that, alas, is such a grievous defect here, as cannot possibly stand in harmony with true Christian faith in any form, but must be sure in the end to turn the New Testament, as well as the Old, into mere human myth and fancy.

Only when we get clear of all such notion of the literal and the outward in the Old Testament, as makes this to be *per se* a base of evidence and demonstration in favor of the New, can we be able to do any sort of justice in our minds to the place which rightly belongs to it in the system of Divine Revelation. Its significance then will be seen and felt to dwell at every point in its interior spiritual constitution, as something far different from ordinary human cogitation lodged in ordinary human speech; as being nothing less, in truth, than the presence of the Divine itself, the veritable living testimony of Jesus Christ and His kingdom. Only in that character does it bear witness really to the coming of Christ in the flesh, and only in

that character can it be said to have its universal fulfilment in Christ. The fact of such fulfilment then is seen, not so much in any light thrown forward on the Gospel from the Old Testament in outward view, as by the light rather of the Gospel itself shining out, as it were, from the very bosom of the Old Testament, and causing this to become radiant with its own heavenly glory. We have the image of it in the shekinah of old, the glory of the Lord in the cloud, otherwise dark but thus made luminous, over the mercy-seat and between the wings of the cherubim.

Such unquestionably is the view taken of the correspondence of these two systems of Divine Revelation, by the New Testament itself. We see this at once in the sermon on the mount; which some take perversely to be a new doctrine of righteousness, in distinction from the law of righteousness as it stood before; whereas our Lord Himself most explicitly asserts just the contrary. Whatever there was of new in His teaching, consisted wholly in the bringing out into full view of what had been from the beginning the interior life and power of the Old Testament Scriptures. He stands forth majestically as the deliverer of Moses and the Decalogue out of the hand of their enemies, the carnal Jewish literalists, who for ages had been using the letter of the Bible only to destroy its spirit. "Think not," we hear Him saying, "that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled." Again: "Whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven, but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven. For I say unto you, That except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. v. 17-20). The *evangelical* sense of which, we are sometimes told by our modern Christian scribes and Pharisees, amounts to this: namely, that our righteousness now has nothing whatever to do

with the law as a rule of life to be obeyed on our part, but is something that must come to us wholly and only in an *ab extra* way, from the merit of Christ credited to our account in the chancery of heaven! Alas, alas, for our human frailty and folly. Who in this case again, can help being reminded of the old castigation: "Full well ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition; making the word of God of none effect through your tradition, which ye have delivered" (Mark vii. 9, 13). All such solidification is essentially one and the same with the external legalism of the ancient Jew—the religion of sheer natural selfhood in fact, having no root whatever in the eternal righteousness of God.

Holding such living relation as we have now seen to the inmost life of the Word of God in the Old Testament, there was only one way in which Christ, the Word Incarnate, could bring into view effectually the truth which was in it as evidence and testimony in favor of Himself. It would have been for Him an infinite solecism, we see at once, to establish a theological school for any such purpose as that, a rabbinical gymnasium, where the appliances of historical learning, philology and logic, might have been brought into requisition with superhuman ability, to prove to His disciples and others that He was the Messiah foretold by Moses and all the prophets. If this were to be done at all, He must in His own person and life unfold the actual interior sense of Moses and the prophets; so that the light of evidence should go forth first of all from Him to them, and then come back again from them to Himself—according to the law of all testimony centering upon Him who is the Light of the world, and therefore the one only source of all truth beyond Himself whether in heaven or on earth. In no other way could He fulfil, and so expound, the universal sense of the Old Testament; and thus it was, that His exposition proceeded in fact from the beginning of His ministry to its close. It was, so to speak, genetic and never analytic; from centre to periphery, from the whole to its parts, and never in the reverse order. He stood in the very heart of the Word itself, and from

that Divine sanctuary—the holy of holies—proclaimed the everlasting Gospel (Luke iv. 21), which thus shone forth from His countenance, and made itself felt in His voice.

His relation to the Old Testament in such whole central view, finds its proper exemplification in the vision on the mount, where Moses and Elias appear with Him in glory, through the sphere of celestial light which is seen to flow into them and around them from His transfigured person. We can feel what it means again, from the way in which He is said to have expounded to His disciples, after His resurrection, the things concerning Himself in *all the Scriptures*, beginning at Moses, but taking in also all the prophets and the psalms (Luke xxiv. 27, 31, 32, 44, 45, 46). How few pause to think of the necessary import of these words! There could be no teaching here in common didactic form, no operation of the logical or critical understanding, laboriously working through the outward letter to the inward sense. It was in some way, as far as it went, a proceeding which took hold of the Word as a whole at once, in the very centre of its being, and from thence outward caused it to shine with the light which belonged to it of right all along from its own original inspiration. This had become possible now, as it had not been before, only by our Lord's glorification; and it came upon the disciples, accordingly, as a vision apprehending them from the spiritual order of existence into which their Master was thus passing away from them, rather than in the character of any mere time and sense experience of their simply natural life. "As He sat at meat with them," we are told, "He took bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them; and their eyes were opened, and they knew Him; and He vanished out of their sight. And they said one to another, Did not our heart burn within us, while He talked with us by the way, and while He OPENED TO US the Scriptures?" What can be more absolutely preposterous than to imagine, that such opening of the Scriptures from the Lord of life and glory in the spiritual world came to nothing more after all, than a scientific manipulation of certain passages and texts here and

there in the Old Testament, admitting mere outward application, prophetic or typical, to the now finished work of the Messiah!

The Scriptures here brought into view are distinguished as the law, the prophets, and the psalms. All these meet together as one Divine revelation in the Old Testament Word. The basis of their common constitution is the law as represented by Moses; and this rests fundamentally again on the decalogue or ten commandments.

To gain proper insight, then, into the nature of the inspiration which forms the interior life of the Old Testament universally (according to its own testimony), we need only to study well what the Law was, and still is, as given in that radical form from Mount Sinai; following for this purpose the particular account we have of it in the book of Exodus.

Such study demands, first of all, a lively sense of the full historical reality of the events going before, in the deliverance of the Israelites from their bondage in Egypt; the passage of the Red Sea; the triumphal song of Moses and the Lamb on its eastern shore; the three days' journey in the wilderness of Shur; the sweetening of the bitter waters of Marah; the subsequent advance to Elim, "where were twelve wells of water and threescore and ten palm trees;" the next station between Elim and Sinai, with the sending of the quails and manna there; then the miraculous flow of water from the rock in Horeb; and at last the solemn encampment before the mount in the wilderness of Sinai. All these outward things, as we know most certainly, having been so ordered of God as to signify corresponding spiritual realities in the economy of man's redemption; and forming in that way a preparatory discipline, for the right reception of the law as a bond of union between the Lord and His people. In that view the discipline has throughout but one sense, the same sense that belongs to all Divine discipline, namely, the crushing out of the principle of self-trust and self-worship from the human spirit (the source of all our darkness and misery), by which only room can be made



for the entering into it of a higher divine life from the Lord. Man absolutely nothing in and of himself; God all in all. That is the idea that is thundered forth upon us from the giving of the Law; as it reigns also in the universal grace of the Gospel. There is not a page of Divine Revelation in which we are not met with it, as the necessary key for the inward opening of the light and power of the Word.

Then follows, in formal declaration, the great object and purpose of the Law. It was to be a medium of living communication between God in heaven and men on the earth. "Moses went up unto God," it is said, "and the Lord called unto him out of the mountain, saying, Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel; Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto Myself. Now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto Me above all people; for all the earth is mine; and ye shall be unto Me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation." Moses reported these words to the people. Their answer was, "All that the Lord hath spoken we will do;" and Moses again "told the words of the people unto the Lord." The transaction in this way was a covenant, the whole force of which for the people turned on their obeying God's voice in the Law, and thus having the living power of that voice in themselves as their own life.

"And it came to pass on the third day, in the morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of a trumpet exceeding loud; so that all the people that was in the camp trembled. And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet with God; and they stood at the nether part of the mount. And mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire; and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly. And when the trumpet sounded long, and waxed louder and louder, Moses spake, and God answered him by a voice. And the Lord came

down upon mount Sinai, on the top of the mount: and the Lord called Moses up to the top of the mount; and Moses went up" (Ex. xix. 16-20).

Some have said that all this was simply a natural tempest of extraordinary violence and power. That, of course, is open infidelity, the monstrosity of sheer rationalism, without disguise. But what better is it, we ask, to own the supernatural character of the phenomena, and yet to stop after all, as many do, in the mere natural side of the phenomena, as if that were in the case the only object for faith, and all beyond it mere outward reasoning from the miraculous to the spiritual divine? The miraculous in its true form, as we have it in the Bible, is *never* mere wonder-work in any such outward view. It has in it always direct regard to Christ and His kingdom. It is always in such way the bearer of the Divine in its own bosom, the sacramental presence in truth of the very spiritual itself which it serves to certify and attest. This, indeed, is the universal criterion of all miracles proceeding from God. The apparently miraculous without this, is only diabolism and magic.

Jehovah, then, the origin and fountain of the new spiritual creation in Christ Jesus, was actually in the "mountain that burned with fire," as He is here represented to have been; while that whole demonstration, at the same time, forms but the awakening prelude to what comes after it—the Divine utterance of the Law itself. And how then, we ask, shall we hesitate to allow the actual presence of the Lord in the Law (at that time, and through all time since), full as much at least as in the Mountain!

"And God spake all these words, saying: "I am the Lord thy God which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, and out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt have no other gods before Me." (Ex. xx. 1, 2). Such is the familiar introduction to the Decalogue; so familiar, alas, that is only with an effort we can rouse our sluggish minds to anything like a just perception of the magnificent meaning, which lives through the ages enshrined in its simple words.

The whole Law here goes forth from the unity of God. The first of the commandments is: "Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength" (Mark xii. 29, 30; Deut. vi. 4, 5). And this unity of God is no abstraction, but the actual living origin and ground of all things; forth from which must issue therefore forever, the universal constitution of all created things; apart from which, or outside of which, there can be no life, no order, no law, no truth; no room so much as to think rationally even for a single moment of any such thing. This One Jehovah, now, "Christ the Son of the Living God," is in the Law from the beginning; He is there as the immanent soul of the Law; the true interior spiritual side of it within its exterior verbal side, whether as spoken or written; in such sort that to think of such Divine presence as not there at all really, or as there only in outward mechanical view, must be as far as all such thinking goes the destruction of the Law altogether. It may seem then to have value and force still in the merely civil and moral spheres of our life; the only marvel in that case being, that it should have been thought needful to herald it with so much supernatural pomp and apparatus as we find attached to it at mount Sinai. But even such semblance will be a nullity; for in truth the moral and civil signification of the Law, amounts to just nothing at all, without the spiritual-divine perceived and felt to be in it at the same time. There only we come to the real intimate heart and core of all that the Law is rightly in any more outward view; and this, we repeat, belongs to it, wholly and only, from the life that dwells in it perpetually as an emanation flowing directly from the one ever-living and only true God.

Every one that is of the truth, Christ says, HEARETH MY VOICE. Does that mean-outward hearing simply? Or does it mean the hearing of the intellect simply, translating the outward speech or word into natural human thought? Most assuredly, neither of these. It means, the actual felt presence of

the living Christ in His own voice. And who may not see that the same thing must be true of the TEN WORDS, as they are called, which God spake from heaven, represented by the top of mount Sinai, that they might be the universal basis of His covenant-presence with men through all time? Even the gross natural sense of the Jews could not shut out fully the mystery of the Divine in what was thus outwardly heard. They said, "Let not God speak with us lest we die." The voice that spake, in this case, was not a dead voice, not an automatic personation of voice in any way; it was a *living* voice; speech having in itself its own life or spirit. And that life, or spirit, we know, was nothing other than the life of the Lord Himself. "God SPAKE all these words"—the infinite mind or thought of Jehovah being thus as much a constitutive part of the words as their outward utterance.

Allowing this, however, of the words as spoken, of the voice of Jehovah originally heard in its actual utterance, can the same thing be imagined to go in any way with the words, after they have been sundered from that first utterance, and are known now only as matter of historical record in the Bible? Can the Written Word have in it the full life and power of the originally Spoken Word? If not, we may well ask, what does the inspiration of the Bible mean? If the Divine Spirit which voiced it at the first be not the voice of God immanent in it as Divine life and spirit still, in what possible rational sense can we affirm it to be the word of God at all, and not simply the word of man, telling us of divine things in an outward way? It might seem, indeed, as if it were for the very purpose of meeting beforehand this plausible infidelity, that the original writing of the Decalogue came also from the mount that burned, given by the hand of the Lord, no less than the original preaching of it given by His voice. The two stone tables of the testimony, we are told, "were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the tables" (Ex. xxxii. 16).

We might go on to enforce what has thus far been said of the Divine quality of the Law, by a more particular considera-

tion of its general constitution and form; in which it surpasses all human productions, and is felt, the more it is studied spiritually, to be what may be called the organic fulness and wholeness of the powers of the world to come; its only fair counterpart, in this respect, being the similarly constituted *Lord's Prayer* of the New Testament. But we cannot follow the subject farther at this time.

What the Law was for majesty and glory, in the representative religion of the Jewish nation, is familiar to all, who have any knowledge of the Old Testament. After its original promulgation, it was laid up in the ark, over which was the mercy seat, overshadowed by the golden cherubim. The ark became thus both testimony and covenant between Jehovah and His people, and was put into the very inmost part of the tabernacle, as being the first and last, the beginning, middle, and end of its worship, in every other view; on which account, that place was called the holy of holies. The tabernacle was made to be in this way the habitation or abode of Jehovah, around which the whole people of Israel encamped in military order, and after which they marched in like order—a cloud then being over it by day, and a fire by night. When the ark set forward, Moses addressed Jehovah as present in it, "Rise up, Lord, and let Thine enemies be scattered"; and so again when it rested, "Return, O Lord, to the many thousands of Israel." Through this presence, accordingly, miracles were wrought by the ark of the most stupendous kind. It caused the waters of Jordan to separate, so that the people passed over on dry ground. Carried around the city of Jericho, it caused the walls to fall down flat so that the people went up into the city, every man straight before him. Such in brief are some of the things told of it in the inspired Word of God in the Old Testament; all serving to show the supernatural power and glory of the Law that was in the ark. Something therefore which belonged to it now, of course, not merely as a past voice from Mount Sinai, but as constant life still in it through God's handwriting preserved on the two tables of stone.

For the Jews of course, who were a pre-eminently unspiritual nation, this entire revelation was purely external; but that, we can easily see, does not weaken in the least the force of the revelation, as being in such outward form the veil simply of corresponding inward reality; embracing in the end the full testimony of Jesus Christ, the universal kingdom of truth, righteousness and everlasting salvation, which He came into the world to establish, and over which He still reigns as Head over all things to the Church. Looking at the subject in such view, we have full right rather to argue from the letter to the spirit of the Old Testament in a *fortiori* style, as the apostle Paul does, when he says: "Even that which was made glorious had no glory in this respect, by reason of the glory that excelleth; for if that which was done away is glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious" (2 Cor. iii. 10, 11). What the Bible tells us of the supernatural wonders which attended the outward inauguration of the Law among the Jews, is after all only a feeble picture of the Divine majesty and power and glory, which belong to it in its inward spiritual constitution, for men at large and through all time.

The Decalogue, we have already said, underlies the universal structure of the Old Testament revelation, distinguished as "the Law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms"; and the quality of its inspired origination out of heaven from God, as we have now considered it, is to be regarded then as extending into every part and portion of that revelation; making the whole to be what is to be understood by the Word of God. The Jewish history, the Jewish commonwealth, the Jewish civil institutions and laws so far as they are brought forward in the Bible, the Jewish ritual in all its details, come alike under this supernatural character and rule. So it is with every one of the psalms; and so it is also with all the prophets.

It would be easy to show, that the assumption of such presence and power of the Divine in themselves—as something altogether different from mere human intelligence and will—dwells in these sacred writings throughout; just as we are made

to feel it also in "all that Jesus began both to do and teach until the day in which He was taken up" (Acts i. 1, 2). They proceed everywhere on the supposition of a helpless impotency on the part of men to reach the Divine from the natural side of their life, and offer themselves as a real medium of communication with it on the opposite spiritual side. It is not too much to say, that every verse of the 119th Psalm fairly thrills and tingles with this celestial sense. And how grandly it comes out in Psalm xix., over against the objective powers of the natural creation: "The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul; the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple. The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart; the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes. The fear of the Lord is clean, enduring forever; the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether. More to be desired are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold."

And so we might go on indefinitely; but here we stop for the present. It is enough for the object of this article, if it may serve only in a general way to establish, from the demonstration of the Holy Ghost in the Word itself, the truth of the angelic thesis, *The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy*. That means necessarily, as we have seen, that the self-witnessing power of the Lord's life actually lives in the Holy Scriptures, as their animating spirit or soul; so that it may be said of them universally, as of the ark of old, **JEHOVAH IS THERE**. *How* that great wonder can be—the "flame of fire out of the midst of a bush, and yet the bush not consumed"—is another question, going deep into the doctrine of God and the science of the human mind. But the first thing needed here, as in all the mysteries of Christianity, is full heaven-wrought persuasion of the reality of the fact itself, which is thus made to challenge any such deeper study (Matt. xvi. 17). Where that persuasion of faith is wanting, as with men commonly, all pretended farther study of the subject can never come to more than a helpless self-reliant floundering of the understanding in the asphaltic sea of naturalism—the burial place of Sodom and her sister cities of the Plain.

J. WILLIAMSON NEVIN.



## ART. II.—CHRISTOCENTRIC REDEMPTION.

BY REV. I. E. GRAEFF.

THE falling of an apple, it is said, led to the discovery of the law of gravitation. Such an occurrence would be commonly regarded as insignificant, although it can only happen by the force of a central law of the physical universe. And, this time, when the apple fell, the idea of the grand power that caused it flashed into the mind of the great philosopher, and the discovery was proclaimed to the world. Similar occurrences are frequent in the history of natural science, and they have their analogy in the higher sphere of grace.

A woman, afflicted twelve years with disease, came after Jesus saying within herself, "If I may but touch his garment, I shall be whole." And so it was—her entire restoration followed instantaneously. How much she knew of the mystery of Christ's person we are not told, nor does it matter for our purpose here; but what she did is recorded, and this is of profound significance as a fact by which we come to a proper knowledge of Christ and His saving power. This woman drew near, as it were, secretly and touched but the hem of His garment, and she was then and there restored to health, a boon which she sought in vain at the hands of physicians. This is one of the incidents in the life of Jesus, which has directed the world to Him as the healing fountain of its own fallen life. Redemption must come by the grace of the Son of God, and the world must follow after and lay hold upon Him by a voluntary act of its own, in order to be saved.

And if we say now that the intellectual activities of the race must come under this Christocentric power to find a normal flow, we only announce a well-authenticated historical truism. The question is not whether there can be no profound develop-

ment of thought and culture, independent of the life and light of the Gospel. The matter has been settled long ago in a matter of fact way, and it would be blind folly indeed to contradict or ignore the testimony of actual experience in so plain a case. Vast progress was made in the culture of the mind, long before the light of the Gospel shone in upon the nations; the classic era had reached its climax in the Augustan age, when Jesus was born; and even much of the intellectual culture of modern times is comparatively free from Christologic control. There is no necessity for insisting upon a direct Christocentric supremacy here. The issue requires a different solution than a denial of intellectual growth, on a mere natural basis. Knowledge, as such, does not necessarily come from Christ, although He is our chief Prophet in whom the secret will and counsel of God are fully revealed; yet the knowledge that comes from Him is fundamental and normative to all that the world may know besides. In this sense He is really and truly the light of the world, and His Gospel must rule the thinking of the race if this is ever to be saved.

No intellectual movement that the world ever saw, either in ancient or modern times, has had the power to come to a knowledge of the one true God and of His will. The gifted sons of ancient Greece, with all their superior mental endowments and their sublime productions in philosophy and the arts, could not tell whether there was but one God, or a thousand. Both the personality of the Godhead and His government were, to them, an unfathomable mystery, and how could they know His purposes of redemption in behalf of our fallen humanity? These things scarcely entered into the dreams of their masterly metaphysical speculations. If indeed they ever had glimpses of these celestial verities, they were but of a shadowy nature and had nothing but mere conjecture to rest upon. And where scriptural knowledge on these subjects has either not come, or where it has been given up in the interest of a skeptical mannerism, the same confusion and helpless uncertainty in the higher regions of intellectual activity always rule the day. The

skepticism of the nineteenth century has no more power to comprehend the personality of God and His will, than had the master-spirits of ancient metaphysics. Faith in God, as revealed in His word, is the only power that can rise to this higher *gnosis* and keep clear from materialistic dualism on the one hand, and pantheistic confusion on the other.

And as we know not God out of Christ, so also can we not understand the condition and destiny of the world out of Him. No amount of abstract reasoning could ever establish the immortality of the soul; and the resurrection of the body, and the judgment at the last day, lay still farther beyond the reach of the logical mind. The Gospel brings us a satisfactory settlement of these points, not by the force of arguments but by the power of facts. Jesus, in His personal history, makes all these mysteries perfectly clear and gives us absolute certitude as to what is in store for us. He was really dead, and was buried, and rose again the third day, and ascended into glory, and from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead. In these facts lies the sure guarantee of a blessed immortality, and of a general resurrection—all speculative powers of reason, however extraordinary and sublime, will struggle but in vain to furnish a foundation like this for human hope to rest upon. When this Christologic evangel was first proclaimed among those who had been under the influence of a classic culture, it was treated with scorn; but the logic of facts soon proved too powerful for the loftiest ideals of the intellect, or the imagination, and all the grand models of a cultivated era had to come down before the higher supremacy of the life of Christ. And the certitude which has thus been reached will not likely be given up in favor of another Gospel, which may offer itself at any time as a better solution of our origin and destiny. Individuals may turn away from Christ in the vain hope of finding a better knowledge, and generations may be deluded by the plausibility of skeptical tendencies; but Christendom will never abandon the safe moorings of the faith, and fall back into the helpless misery of the natural mind.

And we need the help of the Gospel, to secure the interests of the present life, fully as much as those of the life to come ; in fact, this is the arena on which the grand and solemn issues of our being must be firmly laid hold of. The divine word furnishes the only key to the social and political economy of the race. If man is not rightly understood and his origin and destiny are involved in uncertainty and doubt, social and political relations cannot come to a legitimate and normal activity. Under all such circumstances the family fails to be properly organized, the two sexes are not lifted to the generous level of a common and equal dignity, and the marital relation will not be held sacred as a divinely ordained means of domestic happiness and peace ; and hence parents and children, masters and servants, rulers and people, must lack the genial support of a redemptive civilization, which always presses forward towards a better and more normal state of things. The Pagan world found it quite easy and natural to dream of a golden age in the past, and the faint and mournful echoes of a paradise lost are heard all along the ages ; but when the veil was to be lifted from the hidden mysteries of the future, and a way pointed out for the recovery of the lost fortunes of the race, there was no power to devise anything reliable and satisfactory. What a marked difference there is between this characteristic ignorance and gloom of all heathendom, and the hopeful view always taken by the ancient Hebrew prophets ! These knew the sad story of the fall far better than pagan sages did, but they knew also how to sing of a paradise regained and of a world delivered from the consequences of the fall. In the fulness of time this prophetic evangel was realized in the personal history of the Messiah, and a progressive central impetus and direction was thus given to the various relations of life which has since made steady strides towards the bringing in of the promised restoration. However unsatisfactory the social and political condition of the Christian world may yet be, the ruling principles of our civilization answer to the demands of our nature and have already furnished abundant proof, historically, of their pro-

gressive animus. All our energies need no longer be left without proper balance and aim, but may look continually towards some high and noble end. The broad and liberal popular culture of modern times is one of the noble fruits of this Christocentric way of looking at human affairs, and the prevailing idea of the common brotherhood of men and their equality before the law is entirely due to this beneficent historical agency. Beyond this basis of economic wisdom and equity the world will as little be able to go, as it was competent to furnish, from its own resources, anything that will at all bear comparison with it, in the past; but it will find abundant employment for all its powers, in developing and applying the principles of the Christian life.

But no intellectual scheme, however broad and comprehensive, can answer to the full measure of redemption. This must reach much deeper than all the powers of the mind are capable of going. If light for the understanding was all that was needed, this great work would be a comparatively easy one; but now the whole man must be included in the scheme. His will and emotional nature lie under the power of sin, as well as his mind; and respect must be had to this fact both in dealing with individual life, and with the status of the race. The results of the fall are as extensive as life, and the remedy that is to remove the evil must correspond fully with the complex character of the disease. Sin must be atoned for, as justice demands; and it must be also taken away, as the necessary fruit and condition of the new economy. Christocentric redemption is of this twofold kind. Christ gave Himself a sacrifice for sin, and He is the second Adam in Whom is the fountain of a new life.

The presence of sin is a sad reality, felt and acknowledged on all hands; and the universal sense of its presence gave rise to propitiatory measures and sacrifices, all the world over. A consciousness so common to all must be founded in fact, and the measures taken for its removal must have a deeper reason than the influence simply of priestcraft and selfish caprice. As sin

is a reality, so the necessity of atonement is a demand that must be met. The only question, therefore, is, as to how this may be done; and just as men were left to themselves in answering the same, they adopted the various measures which history records. The only scheme that meets the case is not of human invention. No sacrifice of beast or of bird will do. The same human nature which sinned, must also make satisfaction for sin; but the sacrifice must be spotless. Hence the work cannot be accomplished by one of the fallen race of Adam. A real and a righteous man even would not be equal to the task, if he were not very God also in one person. In this way only can he be priest and sacrifice at the same time, and give effect to the great work of reconciliation. When these divine-human qualifications are found to be at hand in an actual historical personality, the problem of atonement has found its normal solution and all other schemes are ruled out. It is just on this account that Christ must be embraced, as the only Mediator between God and man. His humanity, absolutely natural and yet evidently in living personal conjunction with the nature of the Godhead, is, by hypostatical union, the mediatorial centre around which a guilty world finds itself constrained to gather, and to which it must surely cling. The blood of Jesus, shed once but always in force to atone for sin, was, and is, and shall be, the cherished boon of penitent sinners. It is a witness that is spoken against, it is true. Self-righteous pride rejects it with scorn, and infidel madness rails against it with blasphemous rage; but as long as men find themselves afflicted with sin, they will gladly seek refuge at the cross of Him who can save. In this central fact lies one of the grand secrets of the Gospel, to draw all men into the same bond of fellowship with the one true God.

But this is but one aspect of the scheme of Christocentric reconciliation. This involves not merely ransom and pardon, in the way of forensic or juridical acquittance; but it comes to its full right and aim only in the glory of a new creation. This carries with it, from the start, a real deliverance from the

power of sin and looks towards the glorification of our fallen manhood into heavenly immortality and bliss. Just this is what is meant by Christ being the second Adam, and Head over all things to the Church. Our present corrupted life comes down to us from the first Adam, with all the misery in which it is involved. Hence redemption cannot come by a mere covering of sin, though this be with the righteousness of the Son of God. A second Head of the race is needed, whose headship is not limited by the scope of mere human possibilities. A new life must flow from Him, not in the order of nature but in that of grace. Righteousness and life must be obtained for us, and they must be made over to us in the actual organic efficacy of our new spiritual relationship. And just here is another point of contact for the world, with the personality of the God-man. In addition to what He is to it as the propitiatory ransom for sin, He answers effectually to the call for regeneration. His example is a spotless agency, working powerfully for good; and His glorified humanity, through the power of the Holy Ghost, is a perennial fountain in the flow of which sinners are born again and made partakers of a royal inheritance. All profound and earnest religious movements lead to a better state of morals, even where they have but the dim light of uninspired intelligence to guide them. None of these ever rose to the ideal of a spotless humanity, and much less did they come to the knowledge of a personal Saviour Who should assume the spiritual headship of the race. The power of the Gospel, however, reaches far beyond mere ethics—it renews and changes the heart. It brings about obedience to the moral law by the tenor of its own life, and produces good works as the fruit of heartfelt gratitude for deliverance from the power of sin. We die in Christ unto sin, are buried with Him in baptism, and rise with Him to newness of life—so St. Paul states the issue, time and again, with all the energy of his great soul. Truly, such a Christological centre for the thinking of the world is a moral directory for the manners and sympathies of the people, which looks in vain for its parallel on the wide



domain of human experience. "When I am lifted up, I will draw all men after me," are the memorable words of Jesus; and, in view of the ethical regeneration brought to light in the progress of His kingdom, how awfully solemn and prophetic do they sound!

Historically, the mediatorship of Jesus means vastly more, than reconciliation with God and personal salvation simply. It is a peace power in the life of the race also. Men cling to the cross first of all, because here they find forgiveness of sin and peace with God; yet the efficacy of the sufferings and death of Christ reaches much farther than this. The cross is felt to be the symbol of a boundless divine love, which moves men to forgive as they hope to be forgiven. The hymn of the angelic choir, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men," is the sweet symphony of a celestial harmony which is being realized in the broadest historico-humanitarian sense. Not that men always feel this and come up to its generous demands. As the cross is often made a covering for sin, so was it frequently made the watchword of cruelty and persecution. Many zealous disciples took up the sword in defence of the faith and did more than cut off the ear of some servant of the high-priest. Still, as the world laid hold on Christ, it was gradually raised in the scale of social good will, security, and peace. Perhaps we may be allowed to consider the process slow, but so are all upward tendencies in the sublime course of all providential agency, both in the physical and moral universe. The movement has proven itself marvelously radical and complete in its various stages, and without its central historical force, it is evident, civilization would have been destitute of normative progress and aim. The social chaos of antiquity would have fallen into total wreck and despair, and the barbaric confusion of the dark ages would not have been made a glorious creative harbinger of world-redemptive ideas, institutions, and manners.

Clear and positive as the progress of past ages has proven to be under, Christocentric direction and aim, there are indica-

tions of still grander achievements in the future. Should international courts take the place of armed forces in the settlement of international differences, for instance, this would be an immense advance on the present status of international law. Such a measure has been suggested, and there are reasons to believe that we are rapidly approaching such a state of the popular mind as will make it possible, and even necessary, to carry it into effect. The diplomatic conferences of the great European Powers, which are now raised from time to time to preside over the issues of peace and war, are already far more in harmony with the humane ideas of a better age, than was the irresponsible caprice of former times; yet these are doubtless but the forerunners of a regime, still more fixed and beneficent. Old Testament prophecy points to such a result in plain and positive terms, and the Gospel guarantees it as but the legitimate product of its own Messianic genius. And in fact, the powerful and enormous military organizations of the great Powers of Europe, which seem to commit modern Christendom to the idea of perpetual belligerency, will likely become too grievous a burden for the nations to bear. This circumstance may compel the introduction of a more rational and humane policy, without conscious obedience, on the part of those who will be the actors in the grand drama, to the generous Christologic sentiment which rules the popular thinking of the times. Well, it matters not what may be the immediate occasion of the hoped-for change, if only the precious boon of deliverance from the horrors of war is obtained and the nations be at rest.

All this goes to show the primary fundamental significance of the Incarnation. This stands, not as a theological dogma in the creed of Christendom, or as a biblical tenet simply over and above the life of the world, to be believed and cherished as a mere preceptive agency; but it authenticates itself as a present plastic power in the onward flow of the world's life. Its relation to the destiny of the race is not dogmatic and mechanical primarily, but dynamic. Fundamental as the vica-

rious sacrifice of Christ is to the salvation of men, it rests on what is still deeper and broader in the redemptive mystery. God manifested in the flesh is its last ground and foundation. The Heidelberg Catechism speaks with special emphasis on this point. It tells plainly what kind of a mediator and deliverer we must seek for. A real and a righteous man, he must be, and also very God—this is the hypostatical union that must precede every other stage in the great mediatorial drama of our redemption. Hence, as a matter of course, the Incarnation is primary and holds a fundamental relation to the Atonement. And regeneration and sanctification are also rooted in this mystery, and the millennial hopes of the race can rest on no other historical foundation. In this way Christianity is made organic and concrete in the life of the world, and stands related to it as the power of God unto salvation in truly mundane plasticity and flow. It is true, the Incarnation must not be made to hide out of view the vicarious penalty paid for sin. Nor may the great propitiatory sacrifice be allowed to overshadow the greater personal mystery of the great High Priest, Who offers it. There is a possibility of doing violence to the truth by pushing it into extremes, but it would be a serious mistake to suppose that this can only be done in one direction. Eutychian error destroys the true nature and glory of the Incarnation by its idea of change, mixture, and absorption; Nestorian heresy commits the same wrong by holding the two natures in Christ apart, in a dualistic, mechanical sense. The grand difficulty in Christologic thinking and experience has been all along, to come to a proper apprehension of the organic union of the divine and the human. But, in spite of all theological and dialectic distinctions and difficulties, Christ is the life of the world as He represents Himself to be, because He is the Son of God and the Son of man in one person.

Christocentric theology is no novelty. The ancient œcumenical creeds are the rich symbolical outgrowth of this kind of evangelical thinking and experience. At the head of these stands the Apostles' Creed, which is justly regarded as the

ruling model of confessional symbolism. It moves throughout in the warm flow of the Christian life, and is an organic rather than a speculative or systematic presentation of Christian doctrine. It does not run pre-eminently in the logical vein of the rational mind, since it deals with organic facts and not with logical abstractions. Its generic centre and norm is the living personality of the incarnate Son of God. The history of the life of Christ does not only make up its central part, standing mechanically between what goes before and follows after, but every article that enters into its symbolical order occupies its place by the force of organic law. It may be called a Christocentric tree, having roots, trunk, and branches, as well as gorgeous foliage and luscious fruit, in blooming symmetrical glow—all by the power of one central life. While its theology readily authenticates itself to the higher intellections of the logical mind, it comes with double force to the intuitional visions of the true faith. It is an admirable rule of orthodoxy for the people, therefore, and answers to the wants of personal piety in a most real way. Hence it need not be a matter of surprise, that it is gaining in popular favor at the present day. We may easily see that there is still a wide difference between its confessional genius and the reigning religious thinking of our age; but it is equally tangible that there is also a profound agreement between them, which is at the bottom of the growing popular favor. Specific account is now made of the person of Christ, and, although this is not just done in the style and spirit of ancient oecumenical orthodoxy, it is still a phenomenon of profound and hopeful significance in the signs of the times. The popular mind will thus be brought into a mood, favorable to warmer sympathy and accord with the central power of the faith and bring us a new era of Christocentric strength and devotion. And let us rejoice that the Creed is rising in influence and popular favor, but above all that Christ is sought after as the life of the Gospel. If Christian thinking rests firmly on this basis, it possesses the possibility of righting itself theologically at all points. And the restoration of the

ancient symbol to hearty sympathy and use, will bring with it a genuine historical revival of the ancient orthodoxy it represents, subject, of course, to the modifying conditions of modern life. If such shall be the case and the irenical genius of the Creed is once more allowed to take the place of a multitude of horny confessional dialectics, the evangelical Catholic Church of the future will rise in all the glory of her Christocentric unity and power, and then will come her final triumph in the conversion of all the nations of the world.

Our own confessional standard, as is well known, is largely ruled by the genius of the Creed. In this it differs from most of its contemporary formularies. It is remarkably free from the harsh, angular dogmatism of its age, and has kept clear of the dialectic method of other Reformed symbols. It is mild, experimental, practical, speaking the glowing poetic language of the heart fresh from the bosom of the Christian life. Under its moulding influence the Reformed Church became noted for the generosity of her views, and for the simplicity, earnestness, and depth of her type of personal piety. In fact, these were the ruling characteristics of her confessional life from the start, in the bosom of which the catechism itself was conceived and brought forth. Had she been governed by a more rigid confessionalism, she might have been much stronger and more potently aggressive as an organization. But this was not her mission, as the voice of history testifies. It would seem that she was raised up, in the providential rulings of the divine will, for the special work of developing the inner Christian life in the soul and the cultivation of broad and liberal ideas; a calling foreshadowed in the grand evangelical standard of her faith. And her existence for more than three hundred years is crowned with the richest fruits, both in the glow of her own martyr faith and in the generous breadth of her theological influence. If, by the force of her peculiar theology and genius, she may yet lead to a broader harmony among the conflicting members of the Christian household, she may well forego the honor of

leading the van in some of the more formal demands of the ecclesiastical situation.

It would be a grand blunder, however, to ignore the importance and necessity of organization, as an effective part of the economy of redemption. Christianity is not a spiritualistic abstraction or Gnostic phantom, but a historical world reality of the most positive and practical kind. Hence it must have form and organized status, to show the saving power of its life. This is a common-sense view, suggested by the law of experience; but it has higher authority for its ultimate ground. Jesus gave the commission, as the fundamental law in the case, that all nations should be made His disciples, that they should be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and be taught all things whatsoever He commanded. This looks toward the universal dominion of Christ in the world, in a formal, sacramental way, and involves the necessity of organized effort on a large scale. The apostolic commission leads us to know that, in this way only, can divine grace have its proper course and effect. "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." Modern evangelical pietism does not call in question the conjunction of divine grace with the preaching of the word, but it is eminently skeptical with reference to the parallel mystery of covenantal or sacramental grace. All this has its ground in the intellectual self-reliance of the times, but does not seem to tally well with the higher sense of a sound evangelic faith. It is hard to see indeed why grace should go along with preaching, and not with baptism; since both are made to stand on the same level in the economy of redemption, by the Author of our salvation. The connection of the two instrumentalities, in this economic way, cannot be merely formal and arbitrary—it must be natural and beneficial in the order of the Christian life, and essential to its historic aims. Hence the founding of the Church in the Pentecostal unction of the Spirit, and its continuance as the pillar and ground of the truth. And if grace is free from all mechanical limitation in any sense, it is nevertheless clearly

confined to its historical order in the world. Men must be saved in the bosom of a sacramental order of Christian fellowship, just as citizenship must be realized legally and organically in the bosom of the commonwealth. There can be no such thing as setting aside our social relationship anywhere, and any notion of redemption that makes the attempt by ignoring the covenantal significance of the Church must come to grief. Truly the foolishness of Christ is wiser than the wisdom of men; and if they would come to the Church like doves to their windows, the event would be hailed in heaven and in earth as the great day of salvation.

But whatever may be thought of the Church, as the organized bearer of grace and salvation to the world, in a specific sacramental sense; it will not be denied that she is the great educational agency of Christian ideas. No one can look into the history of modern Christian nations with an unprejudiced eye, and fail to see that the main source of their advanced position, in the elements of happiness and prosperity, lies in the educational influence of ecclesiastical discipline. If, when the Roman empire came to its decline and fall, the Church had not been at hand with her powerful organization and her cultus, to mould the barbaric hordes of the times into the highly civilized and cultivated nationalities of succeeding ages, it would be sad to contemplate what would now be the condition of Europe and the world. The old civilization, however classic and powerful in its day, lacked the germ of a higher life, and hence it was broken and scattered to the winds. At this crisis a new historic life-principle was brought into sway. This lifted into power the nationalities of the Latin race, and latterly those of the great Anglo-Saxon stock, by the supremacy of which the destiny of the world is now controlled. Germany, and Great Britain, and North America, where Anglo-Saxon life is in full blast, owe a profound debt of gratitude to the Church for giving the people a long continued training in Christian thinking and manners. It is true, Christianity is a vital, self-adjusting, historical power, which does not necessarily stand in a fixed formal



supremacy to all popular culture, in order to accomplish its educational ends. History does not demonstrate the right of the Church exclusively, to rule the culture of the mind, in a legal way. State systems have had their day and did a good work, but these may be superseded by a regime more in keeping with our modern ideas of an equitable division of power. The Church, free from State control on the one hand and denied political supremacy on the other, has all the more spiritual potency in moulding the manners of the people. For this reason she wields an influence in this country, which is perhaps not equalled by any of the ecclesiastical establishments of the old world. And the time will never come, while the present world-order lasts, when any Christian nation can safely dispense with her Christologic educational influence and training. If the German empire gained her late victory over Jesuitic intrigue, by inaugurating a policy which must weaken and demoralize the pedagogic power of the Church; her State-craft may yet be put severely to the test, in finding a remedy for the evil of her own doings. It is an ill omen that, under the new regime, the number of theological students in some of her world-renowned universities is rapidly dwindling down to almost nothing, and scores of parishes are already without pastors.

The strength of our American nationality is, in a great measure, due to its decided and clearly defined Christian sentiment. Religious persecution drove the early settlers away from their native countries, and the foundations of colonial life in this new world were laid in the agonies of a lively muscular faith. And the Republic has had her teeming multitudes of devoted Christian people, from its foundation to the present day, who walked in the spirit of their pious fathers and planted the institutions of Christianity in every quarter of the land. Hence the religious features of the national character have become distinctly marked, and the amenities of modern civilization gained most generous and comprehensive sway. Modes of thinking and of culture change, while the life is still the same; but should the virus of a skeptical materialism poison the popular heart and

destroy the educational ascendancy of the Christian faith, the glory of the Republic would be trailed in the mire. No such catastrophe is yet impending, although we dare hardly flatter ourselves that we shall escape the downward tendencies, which so broadly enter into the experience of modern Christendom. In fact, here the final conflict of Christian civilization with the powers of a materialistic infidelity may yet be brought on, in a most radical style. Hence the double necessity, for both Church and State, to rest firmly on the Christocentric basis of Christian life in the cultivation of popular intelligence and manners. Without this central norm and power life is but a sham, and civilization a mockery.

The materialistic tendencies of the times are as natural under the circumstances, as is the flow of water to its level. We are involved in an era which is particularly taken up with the development of the physical sciences, and with movements in material progress on a broader scope than the world ever saw. The abstract sciences are measurably stripped of their former high position in the educational curriculum of the nations, or are forced to bend to the rigid demands of a utilitarian regime. And the so-called humanities, which, since the revival of letters, have played so important a part in the sphere of liberal culture, are rudely thrust aside as a hindrance to the rapid materialism of the hour. The introduction of steam-power, of the magnetic telegraph, and of a multiform and most comprehensive order of labor by machinery, has radically changed the *modus operandi* of secular life. All this makes the age emphatically materialistic in its genius and culture, and theology receives a characteristic coloring and bearing. And we need not wonder if the spirit of the faith should, apparently, be overcome by the raging world-spirit of the day. Still, in the language of St. John, the power of the faith that is in us is no doubt stronger than the power that is in the world, and the latter must yield to the beneficent behests of the former. He who made the physical world and brought it through the various phases of its cosmogonic development, with a constant aim to its noble end,

though it took millions of years to accomplish the work, will take good care that no powers of Hades will frustrate His Christocentric scheme of the world's redemption. In fact it is tangible that the ruling material agencies of the times are already brought into the effective designs of our modern civilization, and that, in this way, they are made to contribute largely towards a normal flow of the amenities of the Christian life. Time and space are virtually annihilated. The race are brought into close social and political relationship. Uniform ideas and manners will more and more characterize the people. All this falls in admirably with the Messianic genius of our faith, and opens a popular highway for the success of the Gospel the scope of which has not been measured by the broadest movements of former ages.

It is sometimes said, reproachfully, that modern missionary work does not carry with it the moral prestige and power which so marvelously distinguished the measures of previous periods. During the "dark ages," for instance, the emissaries of the Cross went abroad, we are told, backed up simply by spiritual power, and having no other charms but those of the faith they proclaimed; and yet whole nations yielded to their influence, and the cardinal principles of our world-historical economy were firmly imbedded in the popular life. There is no necessity for stopping here to inquire into the absolute correctness of the claim that is thus set up, or to pry into the causes of the change to which our attention is directed. It is enough to know and to say that our Lord, in His wise and good Providence, is not tied down to a fixed mechanical order of procedure in the historic onward flow of the world's redemption. Under the guidance of His Spirit, the missions of the medieval period and of the Primitive era brought about magnificent results, by means of measures suited to the present status of human affairs. The moral supremacy of modern Christian nations is absolutely sublime, and has a large promise of future triumph over the besotted civilization of the heathen world. Perhaps the stupendous victories of the past may yet be largely thrown into the shade,

as the tendency of our modern era comes to its focal point in the sublime evangelic mastery and control of all the world. An enlightened public opinion is making its progressive demands with increasing emphasis, and no power on earth will be able long to resist the will of the masses. European Powers and modern Christendom will bring the broad territories of the East, with their teeming millions of deluded-idol worshipers, fully under their beneficial sway. History points clearly to an issue of this kind, as already partly accomplished, and rapidly moving towards its close. The lower phases of the cosmogony of the earth did not more clearly foreshadow those which followed, than does the present posture of Christendom the early universal supremacy of our civilization. Whatever diplomatic conferences or civil powers may do, the march of Christian ideas is going bravely on.

Besides, the Church has evidently entered upon a new phase of her history, looking towards an irenic culmination of her own life and mission. For centuries the centrifugal tendency was in full blast in the ecclesiastical world. When once the centralized ascendancy of the Romish hierarchy gave way, disruption and chaos seemed to know no bounds. Indeed it looked at times as if the sad catastrophe of universal ruin was close at hand. The movement was theological too. It carried with it an enormous store of negative force, threatening to destroy the very foundations of the faith. We need not remind the reader here of the wide-spread ravages of the rationalism and infidelity, which often made the current of modern history, apparently, a yawning sepulchre of all our Christian hopes. Yet, as the chaos of cosmogony was not confusion without law and aim, so the negative tendencies of our own grand historic era are made to do the bidding of the Great Master. If we look up into the empyrean of the starry heavens we see order, harmony, and beauty all around; but the music of the celestial spheres was reached only after ages of conflict. Have we not come to an epoch in the experience and life of the Church, analogous to this but far above it in moral sublimity, grandeur, and truth?

It is safe to say at least that we have come to the extreme limit of disruption and disintegration, and that henceforth all ecclesiastico-theological factors must find a true orbital position in the historical order, of which Christ Jesus is the vital solar centre.

"The kingdom of God cometh not with observation." It is difficult, therefore, to speak with any degree of certainty about an issue which is not yet fairly solved. A state of things may possibly arise that would likely lead still to further divisions, at least in the Churches of Continental Europe. Should the state-systems of that section be broken up, the centrifugal humor of the times would no doubt come once more into prodigious play and all our fondest hopes of an approaching ecclesiastical unity would sink under the shadow of a dark cloud. But even there, at any rate in the kingdoms of the German Powers, the theological problem has been theoretically mastered, however much may yet remain to be done on the practical arena. And in this country and Great Britain, the ecclesiastical aspect of the question is already in a more tangible shape. Here the evil of schism has been practically felt, and a reactionary movement is now fairly on the way. Here the powerful and vigorous nationalities of the Anglo-Saxon race are verging towards a unity, which, if once fully realized, will guarantee in a great measure the ultimate harmony of other ecclesiastical powers. The year of Jubilee must and will come; for the dawn of the great day of the Lord is already upon us. And the idea that our powerful and still rising American nationality may be one of the leading agencies, by which the Christocentric life of the Gospel is brought to proper historical effect in the movements of the times, ought to inspire us with proper energy in the fulfillment of our mission. If indeed we may claim that, among us, the Christian life has come to its broadest and most radical social development, that is all the better reason why we should continue in the same line of progress and moral aim. Oh! that the great Head of the Church may here preside, by His Holy Spirit, over the destiny of His people, and deliver them from

all error, pride, and prejudice; enlighten them with wisdom from above; fill their hearts with the spirit of unity and peace, and so order all their doings that the kingdom of Satan may be destroyed, and the pure Gospel truly preached and truly followed: until all dispersed sheep shall be gathered into the one fold of the Great Shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord. If in this manner the world cannot be converted into a paradise of celestial bliss, it may at least be delivered from the power of sin and have a foretaste of the salvation which awaits the people of God in the paradise above. Such is the character and mission of Christocentric redemption. "If I may but touch the hem of his garment, I shall be whole."

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#### ART. III.—PAGANISM IN EDUCATION.

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BY REV. C. Z. WEISER, D.D.

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##### INTRODUCTION.

WE have once more, and for the fifth time, gone over the volume which bears the title indicated over our Article. Its author is the Abbé Gaume, Vicar-General of Nevers, who wrote in 1851. Robert Hill presented the Abbe's thoughts in an English dress during the following year, and prefaced them with a lucid and profitable Introduction. The celebrated Count de Montalembert likewise inserted a Letter, which cannot fail to prove of great value to the critical reader. Though a full quarter of a century has passed since their publication, the principles and positions which the learned author maintains seem to us quite opportune, in view of the School Question, just now agitating the country and age. As it is the only vigorous attempt known to us, to "lay the axe to the root of the tree," we venture to produce his theory, in substance, *as well as his words*, in many instances, as matter for the educa-

tors to digest, even though they may not find it quite palatable or be willing to assimilate it to themselves. "The object of the Abbé Gaume," in the words of the translator, "is to discover and point out the causes which are undermining society, and to prescribe a remedy for the evil."

With this brief statement we enter upon our task.

We propose to trace the history of education from the founding of the Christian Church to the present time, as fully as the limits of our space will allow. And since so little is known of the successive growths in this field, it is hoped that an attempt to shed some light upon the *curriculum* laid down and pursued throughout this long period will prove of sufficient interest to challenge attention.

Our survey contains three distinct epochs.

#### FIRST EPOCH.

##### *From the Apostolic Age to the close of the Fifth Century.*

The order and kind of education during this age was "of the Jews. It had been the exclusive aim of the Israelites to instruct their children in the Law of Moses, the oracles of the prophets, the chants of David, the wisdom of Solomon, the annals of the nation, and the morals of the offspring of Abraham.

The Apostles, having been Jews by origin, and heirs and executors of the ancient Church, naturally formed the education of the faithful on the type in use in God's primitive nation. And since the former model had been one exclusively Jewish, the latter became *exclusively Christian*. Although the languages which we now call "classic," or *dead*, were during this age the living tongues of Rome, of Athens, and of all the civilized people; although the children and people acquired and used them as vernaculars, it must not be forgotten, on the one hand, that the mother-tongues of Christian offspring came to them through the family rather than the school; from the lips of parents and nurses rather than from the drilling of the



master; from parlance and not from the grammar. And especially must it be borne in mind, on the other hand, that, whilst the medium and channel of instruction might be a common one to Christian and pagan children and disciples, the substance and pabulum was essentially and invariably different. Whilst pagans tabooed every shred of Christian literature, from derision and contempt, Christians nourished themselves and their progeny exclusively on a native aliment. The reply to the question, "What books were put in the hands of the faithful, young and old?" is not difficult or doubtful. Holy Scriptures, the lives of the martyrs, the annals of the Church; these were the primers, elements and studies of the family and society. The psalms and hymns were memorized and chanted; the law, the creed and prayers were engraven on the heart; dogmas, precepts and usages of religion were ingrained.\*

The proofs of the assertion that profane nations were excluded from Christian households are numerous. Let any one look into the Apostolic Constitutions, which St. Athanasius calls "the doctrine of the Apostles, collected by St. Clement," and St. Epiphanius styles "the uncorrupted summary of the rules of conduct." Whatever view we may cherish towards the "Constitutions," as a reflecting mirror of the complexion and tradition of the period, their voice has force and weight. We may question their authenticity, but as a relevant witness we must revere it, with all antiquity. In these archives we may read: "Abstain from all books of the Gentiles. What have you to do with these doctrines, with these strange laws, with these false prophets? Some thoughtless men have lost their faith through them. What is there wanting in the law of

\* Christiani parentes enim pueros suos a teneris unguiculis SS. Martyrum acta et summorum pontificum Epistolus perlegere, Sacras Scripturas memorie mandare, psalmos, psalmos canem, omniaque, religionis mysteria, doctrinas, leges, in extituta diligentissime ediscere Jubebant, ut deinde, data occasione, adolescentes possint Christi fidem, non solum inter menta carnificum magno animo progiteri: verum etiam contra Ethnicorum calumnias et sophistarum cavillationes libero et deserto ore defendere.—See Opp. SS. PP. in liter juven. adhib. Rom. 1841; Maniachie, O. et An. Christi.

God, that you have recourse to these fables? If you desire history you have the book of Kings; if you want philosophy or poetry, you have it in the Proverbs, and with more perfection and elevation than in any work of these sophists or these poets. The Word of God alone is wise. Do you seek lyrics? read the Psalms; ancient origins? read Genesis; laws and moral precepts? take the divine code of the Lord. Abstain, then, absolutely from all these profane and diabolical works."

Lest this general rubric might not be considered sufficiently definite and absolute, let us enter the family domain, in order to convince ourselves of the general spirit and assiduity with which the Holy Scriptures were read, as the first classic book of childhood.

Eusebius says (Hist. lib. IV. c. 3): "From the time that Origen left the cradle, his father, Leonidas, imprinted on his mind the divine letters. He was not satisfied to give some few moments snatched from the studies of the age to this study; he placed it in the first rank. Every day he made the child learn *some passages of Scripture*, and the young Origen took more pleasure in this than in studying the Greek authors." In the family of Gregory, education was conducted in a like manner. The histories of Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzen and Cælanus, show that they were brought up in this manner. Macrina, the sister and governess of the sage of Nyssa, is thus sketched by her illustrious brother: "Scarcely had she grown out of infancy, when she displayed a most happy faculty for learning. Her mother undertook to instruct her, and for this purpose studied herself. She was very careful not to teach her the fictions of the poets, too often offered to the young mind. It seemed to her ill-becoming, and even dangerous, to represent to the imagination of her daughter the pictures and impassioned movements of the tragic poets, but still more so to make her conversant with the weaknesses attributed to women in comedies. It would be, in her opinion, to infect and corrupt a well-disposed soul at the most tender age.

"She preferred to make choice of some of the most edifying traits and most striking maxims contained in our holy books, and her little pupil learnt them. The Book of Wisdom furnished her with a multitude of sentences and reflections calculated to form the heart and enlighten the mind, to guide her through life. This excellent mother had extracted certain invocations from the Psalms, which she adapted to her exercises, so that whether her daughter rose, dressed or took her repasts, she had always a verse adapted to the circumstances, which she chanted with great grace."

St. Jerome, writing to Gaudeneia and Leta, touching the education of their children, directed that the young Pacatula should commence from her seventh year to furnish her memory with the beautiful inspirations of the prophet-king, and up to her fourteenth year she should make the Books of Solomon the Gospel, the Evangelists and Prophets the treasure of her heart."

To Leta he writes: "It is by the Scripture itself that your child will learn to read, to write and to speak, that her tongue may know how to repeat the sweet canticles of the Prophet-king. Do not form for her an assemblage of words taken by hazard; but choose from the holy writings, and let the first words she pronounces be the names of the Apostles, the Patriarchs and the Prophets. The first book she will learn must be the Psalter; those divine canticles she will repeat on waking. In the Proverbs of Solomon, she will learn to live wisely; in Ecclesiasticus, to trample under foot the things of the world; in Job, the virtue of patience and courage. She will next pass to the Gospel, never to quit it; she will identify herself with the Acts and the Epistles of the Apostles; each day she will repeat to you some passages which will be as a bouquet of flowers culled from Scripture. \* \* \* \* Guard her from all such reading as would introduce the pagan language even into the bosom of Christianity. What can there be in common between the profane chants of paganism and the chaste chords from the lyre of the prophets? How can we

associate Horace with David? Virgil with the Gospel? It is useless to plead the excuse of intention; it is always a scandal to see a Christian soul in a temple of idols."

St. Chrysostom says: "Be careful not to consider the study of our holy books as superfluous. It is the Scriptures that will teach your children to honor their fathers and mothers; you will there gain as much as they. Do not say that this is only good for persons separated from the world. Certainly I do not intend to make solitaries of you—if your sons become so, they will have nothing to regret; but no, it is sufficient that they are Christian. They are destined to live in the world. It is in our Holy Book they will find their rule of conduct; but for *this they must search from their earliest years.*"

From such words we are enabled to infer what the nature of the instruction was which was imparted within the bosom of the primitive Christian families; what were the classics for both sexes; what the fathers, guardians and directors prescribed as fundamental household lore. And let it not be overlooked that during this epoch childhood was prolonged. It was not then necessary to make the young study grammar so early, nor for so many years, as is now the custom. Hence the family nurture was *a prolonged, essentially and exclusively Christian education.*

When the community was substituted in the room of the family, to form and direct the education of the young, St. Basil wrote: "The study of letters ought to be accommodated to the mind of the child; *the Holy Scriptures should serve as a vocabulary.* Instead of fables, the beautiful histories of the Bible should be related to them; they will learn by heart the maxims in the book of Proverbs." But a most striking proof of the fact that the Scriptures had been the *classics* in Eastern and Western families is afforded us in the remark of St. Jerome: "Where is," says he, "either the learned or the ignorant, who, taking my translation in hand, and perceiving the difference there is between what he there reads and what he

has, as it were, sucked with his mother's milk, will not cry out against me as false and sacrilegious, accusing me of daring to change, to add to, or withdraw from the ancient copies?" From this it appears that a wrong or strange word in citing the Gospel was sufficient to put a whole promiscuous assembly on the alert. St. Augustine dared not allow St. Jerome's version to be read, although perfectly orthodox, lest it should seem to the masses as though he was introducing something new, and thereby produce a scandal. But such needed precaution implies a familiarity with the Holy Scriptures to a degree, perhaps, beyond that of to-day; and such a familiarity presupposes an education, which again implies childhood, when the family life exerts its moulding power effectually.

The Holy Scriptures having thus been placed aside of the cradle of the child, the Book of the Martyrs was next laid in the room now occupied by stories, novels and romances. It seems almost like very fiction to be told that during the cradle-age of Christianity, the sufferings and heroism of the flood-and-fire baptized should be read and dwelt upon not alone in the Churches, but in promiscuous assemblies, as well as about the hearth and home. They used these histories as private and ordinary reading. Is it from this habit the spark was caught and set a burning in their own breasts?

The annals of the Church were added next, as we, in modern days, enroll the latest edition of some improved or new textbook. The biographies of defenders of Christianity were welcomed a place on the catalogue of the Christian classics, one by one.

Let us here close our review of the first five centuries of the Christian era, after having discovered that *for Christian children an exclusively Christian curriculum was prescribed.*

It is not meant by what has now been said that the frequentation of pagan schools had been wholly forbidden. After the proper preservatives and preventatives had been vouchsafed, such visitations did occur, but not before. Basil and Chrysostom studied under the rhetorician, Libanus, after they

had arrived at the age of adolescence. Gregory of Nazianzen, when no longer a child, was sent to Asarca, then to Alexandria, and finally to Athens. Jerome, in his nineteenth year, went to Rome, to study under Donatus, the grammarian. Pagan schools and pagan classics were visited by the *adolescents*.

It may be wondered why such a habit was tolerated at all, however. But a little reflection will still all surprise in reference to the license. Pagan society found itself in full and entire possession of literature and the sciences at the birth and during the infancy of Christianity. Heathen masters enjoyed the sole right of teaching from the public chairs, all through the universal realm. If the Christian teacher attempted to dispense instruction in the belles lettres or the human sciences, in eloquence, poetry or general literature, he was nevertheless obliged to make use of pagan authors. How, then, could Christians *wholly* interdict their works and studies "in that period, without shutting the door to all philosophy then known? The Christian religion would thus have afforded its enemies the most potent of all pretexts for calumny. Obscurantism, barbarism, inimicalness to enlightenment, would then have been charged against the new religion with great reason. The distressing condition of Christian youths was rendered all the more apparent by the specious Order of Julian, the Apostate. Let us hear the opening words of this prince's edict:

"Real instruction, in our opinion, does not consist in words, nor in harmonious or high-flown language, but in the healthy disposal of a sensible mind, which has a just appreciation of good and evil, of what is upright and what is not. Thus, whoever teacheth to his disciples what he believes to be false, is as little entitled to be called a learned as he is an honest man. That the tongue does not accord with the thought in small things, always shows a want of correctness to a certain point; but to speak in one way and to think in another on things of importance,—for a man to teach what he believes to be bad,

to praise authors he most condemns, and thus to deceive the young, is it not to traffic as those do, who, without honor or conscience, vaunt their bad merchandise to find purchasers?"

The object of such and similar reflections was to forbid Christian masters henceforth to teach, and pupils to study Homer, Hesiod, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Thucydides, Isocrates, Lysias, etc., and to enjoin men to take for classic authors St. Matthew and St. Luke, etc. It is well known what the Fathers thought of the royal prohibition, and what was done after Julian's death.

But it should be insisted upon, in view of the false inferences which are drawn, and the abuse which is made of this circumstance in the history of early Christianity. that *necessity* alone opened the schools of the pagans, the pages of pagan authors and the lips of pagan masters, for Christian pupils,—not curiosity, nor pleasure, nor the ornamentation of fine writing, nor the useful doctrines, nor the examples left by the Gentile sages.

Here we will permit Tertullian to bear testimony.

"It was neither curiosity nor pleasure, but solely necessity, which determined them to read pagan works and listen to pagan masters. St. Jerome speaks of this necessity when condemning those Christians, and more particularly ecclesiastics, who read pagan authors solely for pleasure; he excuses the youths who are obliged to make use of them. That which is a necessity for the young becomes a crime when adopted from choice."

Since the *Renaissance* we hear very different reasons alleged for the study of pagan classics. "It is to teach us to think, to feel, and to express ourselves well, that we are made to study Virgil and Cicero, Homer and Demosthenes," we are told in all quarters,—reasons which would have been considered as an outrage against religion by the early Fathers, and a kind of apostacy. St. Jerome writes: "What can there be in common between light and darkness? between Jesus Christ and Belial? What connection between David and Horace,



Paul and Cicero? Is it not a scandal for your brother to see you in the temple of idols? It is forbidden to us to drink at the same time of the chalice of Jesus Christ and that of the devils."

From his nervous queries, it is plain that he did not study the classics four long years from any admiration of pagan philosophy, or for the purpose of adopting any part of an idol system. No! the philosophers were regarded as "Animals of glory," and "Patriarchs of heretics," by the Christian teachers; nor did they hesitate speedily to compose works of their own, presently to call down public derision both upon them and their systems. We regard all the attempts which have been so numerous and masterly made to prove the *classics* the early and later source of style, eloquence and wisdom, only as another evidence of the fact that men will suffer themselves to be cheated by a lie.

Doubtless the ancient Fathers drew words, expressions and style from pagan authorities. And why? There was no other literature at hand from which to take models. They were native Gentiles, and converted in after life. It is natural that they should have made use of their mother tongues and of their school-rhetoric. But the eloquence, *which was and is still their glory*, was not drawn from pagan fountains, as little as their principles. *That*, according to St. Jerome, was taken from the holy books, more particularly from the Prophets, with whom a continual meditation identified them. The proof of this lies in the heaven-wide distinction between the eloquence of the Fathers and that of the pagan Orators. There is a spontaneity of expression, a solidity of thought, a vivacity of feeling, a magnificence of imagery, and abundance of proof, contained in the utterances of the former, which marks them as pointedly as the art of rhetoric, choice of words and elegance of phrase distinguish the latter." *The disjecta Tullii membra*, which are so readily recognized in Quintilian, for example, will be sought in vain in Ambrose, Maximus, Augustine, Cyprian, Leo, Chrysologus or Gregory. Thus it is also with

Demosthenes or Isocrates, no traces of whom will be found in Athanasius, Basil or Chrysostom, in Gregory Nazianzen or Cyril of Alexandria. No imitation of paganism can be traced in these. All is primitive, original, and inspired by the invincible force of faith, and an ardent love for the salvation of the world. Neither do you discern a relationship between Christian historians, epistleographers and philosophers, with those writers in paganism. Eusebius, Sulpicius Severus, Julius Africanus, Cyprian, Paulinus, Justinian and Origen do not resemble Xenophon, Suetonius, Cicero, Pliny or Seneca. From which fact it is to be noted that the Fathers did not study pagan writings for the purpose of imitation; though they could imitate very well whenever they wished. St. Augustine cites an instance from Cyprian, and adds: "For number, elegance and richness, this phrase is admirable; but its richness is not unfavorable to Christian gravity. Those who like this style of writing accuse those who do not employ it with inability. They do not know that it is on purpose, and from good taste, they abstain from it. Cyprian, then, has shown that he could have borrowed this language, since he has done so, and he has shown also that he could not, since he has used it so little." Jerome shows that Lactantius has admirably imitated Cicero, and Hilary the number and style of Quintilian. But the Fathers did not consider it a glory.

The reasons for permitting young Christian scholars to read and study pagan authors may be thus briefly given: (1.) It was necessary for them to know the history of their own country and of other nations, which was written by pagan hands. (2.) The arts and sciences were likewise monopolized by the pagans. (3.) The truths which paganism, as a system, had usurped and disfigured were thus to be restored. (4.) As it were, to "take from the Egyptians their vessels of gold and silver and give them to the Israelites, that they might serve to ornament the tabernacle." (5.) That the errors, prejudices, arguments and objections might be known and refuted, on their own ground, and with their own weapons, as it were.

Plausible as these reasons were, yet the Fathers were still not unanimous as to the propriety of sending Christian youths to the pagan schools, or opening the pages of heathen authors, because of the danger to which faith and morals were thus exposed. By far the greater number pronounced against this instruction, whilst the lesser party tolerated it for adolescents, with a certain reserve and precaution. Tertullian, Gregory of Nazianzen and Basil were among the conditional advocates. "When a child," says Tertullian, "brought up in the faith and inbred with its principles, attends the school (of the pagans), he ought to be cautioned and fortified against error. He will learn the *letter*, which is useful, and condemn the false and impious doctrine, against which he is already on his guard." So, too, Gregory of Nazianzen, whilst favoring "that knowledge which most Christians look upon as *vain and illusive, full of perils*, only serving to estrange souls from God, and with this condemn and abhor it," in later life modified his opinion, and towards the end of his life wrote thus to Adamantius: "The books which you ask of me I have put aside since the day when, *obeying the divine inspiration*, I turned my eyes towards Heaven. It was necessary that all childish play should be finished; it was necessary to cease to lisp, to aspire, at length, after true knowledge, and sacrifice to the *Word*, all these *frivolous discourses*, with all that had hitherto charmed my leisure; but since you are determined to give the preference to that which ought to hold the second rank, and nothing can turn you from this design, here are my books. I send those to you which have escaped the worm, or are not blackened with smoke on the hook to which I suspended them above my hearth, as the pilot who has retired from the sea suspends his helm." Gregory, in his Eulogy on Athanasius, praises him for having quite early abandoned the human sciences and devoted himself to the study of the holy books.

We are now anxious to quote Basil, whom many claim as an advocate of pagan schools, and who had himself been a scholar and student in them in early life. This is his confes-

sion: "I awoke, as from a profound sleep; and from the time the Gospel came to enlighten my eyes, I saw the vanity of human science and wisdom. \* \* \* Since I have conversed with Moses and Elias, and have received from their rude language the lessons I must transmit to my brothers, I have completely forgotten what I learnt at your school." "The repugnance," says St. Gregory, "of most Christians (to the tuition of the pagan schools) was acknowledged to be well-founded. It was henceforth understood that a complete triumph of the Gospel and of Christian morals over the idolatry and the corrupt morals of the Greeks and Romans could not be expected whilst the rising generation drew their ideas, fed their imaginations and formed their judgment from the works of antiquity. A new moral, new laws, a new world, could only come out of a new literature." This position was controverted by Count de Montalembert as false; since education is not everything. "If education were *everything*, Rome, brought up under pagan rhetoricians and sophists, would not have become Christian; and the Christian would, brought up by monks and priests till the fifteenth century, not have become pagan." But Ritter, (in his Hist. Philo., tom. iv. c. 19), answers well in these words; "How was it possible to ally Christianity to the heritage of the ancient people? The ancient traditions, the remembrance of great acts, and of ancestors who had acquired such renown and influence over their descendants, *led minds in one direction*, whilst Christianity and its promises *led them in another*."

Three great champions may be said to have appeared to close the pagan and open the Christian school—Chrysostom, Jerome and Augustine. Regarding the former as useless, vain and dangerous in philosophy, literature and morals, the latter asks: "With what evil, then, are we menaced if we ignore the *belles-lettres*? It is not only amongst us, who laugh at all this vain knowledge, at this art that is strange to us, that the *lettres* are worthless. Philosophers who do not belong to us do not value them. \* \* \* This, however, has not pre-

vented their acquiring a great celebrity. \* \* \* How much, therefore, should we not be to blame, enlightened as we are by faith, if we attach too much importance to a talent disdained even by those who feed upon the wind, and if to acquire a thing so vain, we risk that alone which is necessary? The Apostles, and a great number of holy persons, who have not studied this literature, have not the less converted the world, whilst no philosopher has as yet converted a single tyrant." He concludes with the question: "Would it not be the last degree of cruelty to throw poor children, unable to defend themselves, into the arena amidst so many enemies?" St. Augustine says: "We do not want for ecclesiastical writers, independently of those whom the Holy Ghost has inspired, from whom a man of capabilities may draw without effort, by only reading them attentively, models of eloquence, so that he need do nothing else but exercise himself in order to write, dictate, or speak as his piety shall inspire him."

St. Jerome, the *savant*, in whom was to be found a summary of the ecclesiastical learning of the past ages, wrote to Damasus, in reference to the Parable of the Prodigal Son, these words: "One may understand by the nourishment of the swine, the false philosophy of the world, the vain eloquence of oratory. Their cadence and harmony, in flattering the ear, possess the mind and enchant the heart; but after one has read works of this kind with great attention, nothing is left but vacancy and confusion. Let us not delude ourselves by saying we do not put any faith in the fables with which these authors have filled their writings. This reason does not justify us, since we scandalize others, who think we approve of what they see us read."

We will close our cullings from various authors touching the use of the pagan classics during the first five centuries of the Christian era, with the words of Lalanne: "After this great and miraculous revelation brought about by men of whom we may say, *Infirma mundi elegit Deus, ut confundat fortia*, Christianity was represented by its propagators with all the

*prestige*, with all the *celat* of letters and science, such as the pagans admired. The conqueror put on the armor of his vanquished enemy, of which he stood in need during a moment of defence and attack. He made use of them, and taught his followers how to handle them. But soon, feeling strong in this armor, which, not being made for him, galled and inconvenienced him, he took it off, piece by piece; or, not attaching any value to it, he left it unnoticed. In presence of the colossus of barbarism, he entered the lists plainly clad, and with the cross for his holy arms, like the young shepherd who went forth with a sling to overthrow the giant; both placed their confidence in God." This same author speaks in another place of the three men whom we have named, as "heirs to the philosophy and literature of the epoch, \* \* \* \* giving the signal to posterity to desert the literary temples of Greece, the porticoes and academies of Athens and the museums of Corinth and Paphos, and with a courageous hand precipitate the world into a momentary darkness, that it might no longer be misled by the false light of paganism."

#### SECOND EPOCH.

##### *The Middle Ages.*

The same method pursued by the Church during the first period was followed during the age upon which we now enter, save that the pagan classics gradually disappear until they vanish entirely. The motive for honoring heathen lore is found to be more and more wanting, and their value depreciates accordingly. The children of the North, in a half-savage state, press around the Church, whom Christianity must civilize. And what is civilization but Christianity applied to society? How is such an application to be effected otherwise than by an efficacious and lasting system of education? And such a regenerating order of education is alone practicable upon childhood. The rising generation will consequently

become pagan or Christian as the educational mold is one or the other. The march of mind was, therefore, made to wear a Christian complexion in consequence of the Christian mold into which the mass was constantly thrown. This becomes manifest from the sentiments of the educators of the period. Listen to the words of St. Ouen, Bishop of Rouen: "What profit shall we derive from the reading of certain grammarians, who appear to cast down rather than to build up? In philosophy, of what use to us are Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle? For what purpose should we read the songs of criminal poets, such as Homer, Virgil and Menander? Of what use to a Christian family are those pagan historians, Sallust, Herodotus and Livius? What oratory of Lysias, Gracchus, Demosthenes and Tullius can be compared to the pure and beautiful doctrines of Christ? Of what utility to us is the ability of Flaccus, Salinus, Varro, Democrates, Plautus, Cicero and others, whom it is unnecessary to name?"

To the holy books, the acts of the Martyrs and annals of the Church were added, from time to time, the writings of the Fathers, the legends of the Saints, the histories of the knights, crusaders, pilgrims and the founders of Orders. Whatever we may think of the educational catalogue adopted, one thing will not be disputed—that the system was far from being a pagan system. The windows and walls of houses and churches illustrated the animus of the age, and has to this day not ceased to be the reproach of those days.

The education commenced around the domestic hearth, was continued through the public schools, which covered the face of Europe, in France, Spain, England, Ireland and Italy. The Episcopal mansions, the country presbyteries, the monasteries and the cathedrals became such centres. All that related to religion—its history, doctrines and glory—formed the subjects of instruction. Can we wonder that the education of the Middle ages became just what it was? Boniface, in writing of Livinius, says: "This child \* \* \* seeking to be instructed by the priest (Benignus) in the *melody of the Psalms*,



in the *sweet reading of the holy Gospels*, and other divine exercises, his youth flowed on according to his desire, so that, as if he were in an immense garden of heavenly flowers, he advanced, day by day, mounting all the steps of virtue. His intelligence was wonderfully developed, and by the co-operation of grace, he found no difficulty in the study of so many divine things, nor in the *practice of the examples of the just*." Lanamus memorized the whole Psalter, and so did Leobard, as well as Nizier, of Lyons.

But let it not be supposed that the tasks were assigned from the sacred and ecclesiastical books alone. The treatises on the arts and sciences were taught and explained. But a great central principle was never lost sight of, viz.: that religion is in the world what the sun is in the firmament—the centre around which all gravitates. The arts and sciences were studied as a means, not as an end,—a means to spiritual and temporal perfection, for the benefit of religion,—not as a stepping-stone to prosperity and human glory. Thus, in the learned schools of England, established by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, we read of *ecclesiastical geometry*, astronomy and mathematics. And so, too, painting, sculpture, architecture and poetry, were cultivated for the glory of their Author. The foreign languages were taught for the discovery of the contents of other religious systems, or in order to preach the Gospel abroad.

We enter the Universities now, those brilliant light-houses which a Christian civilization has so plentifully founded and so magnificently endowed all over Europe. And within their walls, as around the domestic hearth, and in the elementary and intermediate schools, we find books and men that are entirely Christian. If it be maintained that Aristotle had a free sailing, it must be recollected that this philosopher was studied, not for his ideas or style of oratory, but solely for his dialectic method. There was a religious motive which inspired both teacher and pupil. Dialectics was to furnish arms to truth, by which error was to be repulsed, unmasked and conquered.

But under what limitations, even this branch was tolerated, we may gather from the words of the Bishop of Paris, uttered in 1277: "We have learned that some students in philosophy, passing the bounds of their faculty, have dared to sustain manifest errors, or rather chimerical extravagances. They find these propositions in books of pagans, and they appear so demonstrative that they do not know how to reply to them. In endeavoring to palliate them, they fall into another difficulty; for they say they are true according to Aristotle, but not according to the Catholic faith—as if two contradictory truths existed!" The current opinion of the teachers and princes of the Church was that pagan literature did not well comport with the spirit and genius of the Christian religion. Hence it was felt, likewise, that a different literature should be generated and studied, which should chime therewith in spirit and form. A Christian Latinity consequently arose. Of the nature of this new product of the Church we have the following description: "True Latinity," says St. Prosper, "is, if I mistake not, that which, retaining the propriety of the terms of the ancient Latin, expresses the thing briefly and simply, and not that which plays upon the beauty of form." Although the Fathers laid the foundation to a Christian Latin, Gregory the Great established it as a system. This is "a language so lucid, rich and simple, elegant and full of unction, differing from the pagan Latin as much as night from day, or Christianity from paganism." It was his aim that *Christian pupils should learn Latin solely from Christian authors*. And this thought was based upon the sound principle that, "in spite of any effort on our part, we retain, in after-life, the style, the thoughts, the diction of the authors we have studied in our childhood, as the vessel long retains the odor of the first liquor it has received. *In semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem testa diu.*" Sts. Jerome and Augustine betray in their style the pagan authors with whom they walked in their younger years, although they both condemned the promiscuous use of the classics. On the other hand, ecclesiastical writers of

the 15th century, though equally celebrated for their eloquence and gravity, display nothing of any resemblance to the heathen style. The latter learnt Latin from Christian sources. And to the same fact we may attribute that ardent love for the Holy Scriptures, that Christian spirit which animated and pervaded philosophy, literature, the sciences and the arts. They tell us that a visit to the great museum of Christian art, Venice, will discover to us nothing relating to mythology or paganism; nothing obscene, shameful or profane, among the countless monuments of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries.

Nor can we any longer accept the current theory that the *Renaissance* discovered the Greeks and Romans as so many lost treasures. These so-called treasures had never been lost. They had ever been known, and were valued in a secondary sense by the Fathers and princes of the Church in all the ages since the Christian era. But the order was—Christianity, first in rank; the base and body in the edifice; the molding factor; the essential element; and paganism, second in order, accessory and subordinate. Thus, in the 18th century, the Abbot of Ferrieres rescued the manuscripts of Cicero, of Gellius, Cæsar's Commentaries, Suetonius, Sallust, and others. "Let it be well understood," he writes, "that it shall be at my cost." Gerhart, of the 10th century, as well as bishops of France, Italy, Germany and Belgium, showed a similar desire. Evidently it was not from any motive of ignorance that the pagan classics were thus set aside in the popular education of this period, the boasting of the illuminated to the contrary notwithstanding.

During the two epochs over which we have hastily gone, we have found; (1.) that the system of education, literature and art were exclusively Christian; (2.) that the classics were the Holy Scriptures, Acts of the Martyrs, the Annals of the Church, and the writings of the Fathers; whilst pagan authors were studied as accessories, and by the adolescents; (3.) that the order of society remained Christian, in consequence and by virtue of the Christian system of education, pursued in the family, the school and in the university.

## THIRD EPOCH.

This period reaches from the 17th century to the present time. The 16th century was the age *de la renaissance*, the age *par excellence*, for the worship of the antique in literature; the epoch of pagan artists, Hellenists and Humanists, who teemed in all parts of Europe. It is the age known as the *Renaissance*. And how did it come about? Let us give the history of its rise in a few words:

Constantinople had fallen under Mahomet II., in 1453. The fugitive Greeks, like the melancholy ruins of a scattered nation, arrived in the West. They carried with themselves in their flights the works of pagan philosophers, of the poets, the orators and the artists. The praises of the Greeks and Romans re-echoed in all quarters. Pagan Rome and pagan Greece seemed alone able to offer themes worthy of contemplation. They monopolized genius, knowledge, eloquence, poetry and art. They offered to place the Herculean columns for the human intellect. The colleges of the age became the retailers of the foreign lore. Crowds of youths crowded into them. Rome and Athens were the only cities that claimed mentioning. The ages of Augustus and Pericles were regarded as the only ages of enlightenment. Only that which wore the stamp of paganism was beautiful in language, poetry, eloquence, sculpture or architecture.

This *Renaissance* altered the form and mold of Europe. Into this mold were poured the young generations. Farewell Christian classics, the Holy Scriptures, the acts of the Martyrs, the Fathers of the Church, the annals of Christian history! And, on the other side, Hail to the Olympian gods, the fables of Phædrus and Æsop, Ovid, Virgil, Horace, Homer, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Cicero, Aristophanes! "It will be a source of wonder," says the Protestant De Gasparin, "to future ages to learn that a society calling itself Christian should have devoted seven of the most precious years of its

children to the exclusive study of pagans." The professors of our Church colleges might well ponder over this strange phenomenon. It is this somersault in the educational race, this complete rupture with the traditional past, inaugurated at the dawn of the Renaissance and kept alive down to our day; this terrible departure in the march of the human mind;—in a word, this radical change in man-building, to which we owe the religious indifference, skepticism, infidelity and atheism of modern times. If the Christian fountains are sealed to the rising generation, whilst the pagan ones are opened, need we wonder whence the bitter waters and the poisonous floods come? It is one of the saddest phenomena under the sun, that even our candidates for the office of the holy ministry should sit for seven years at heathen wells, and but one, two or three years at the fountains of living waters. But so radical is the change from the primitive Christian curriculum, and so deeply has it indented itself into the heart of the age, that we actually believe the bitter to be sweet.

And here both Catholic and Protestant have reason to go down upon their knees and cry, *Peccavi!* Rome, Geneva, Heidelberg, and every citadel of Christian literature, stands on like ground in this respect. They may, to be sure, raise their defensive arguments, and conduct them with marked ingenuity, but the *deviation* cannot be concealed thereby.

The history of the arts runs parallel with the course of literature. The Christian type has succumbed to a style perfectly pagan. "Away with the artistic models of the early faith!" has been the cry since the *Renaissance*. Who must not sigh over the departure of the magnificent monuments of architecture, of painting and sculpture which once abounded? The temples of Greece and Italy,—the triumphal arches, columns, statues, frescoes, villas, baths, nudities,—these are all in style. Miss Blanche Nevin confronts us with Mother *Eve*. But had she given us a "Venus," how much louder would the crowd cheer! If an old, mutilated vase or statue is by chance discovered, the enthusiasm borders nigh on a delirium. But

were the original cross exhibited on which the "Prince of Glory" died, it would hardly excite more attention than would a broom-stick, one hundred years old.

And need we search elsewhere for the cause of the decline of faith, morals and Christian life, so long as the fountains of the age are as and what they are? The crazed founder in Florence wondered long why he could not cast the figure of an archbishop, until he saw that he dare not expect such a result as long as he kept pouring his material into the mould of a horse. We, too, might learn as much.

Lest we might lay too much stress on the mere *change of form*, let us look at some of the sayings of the Fathers. Origen, as we have already seen, regards the pagan works as so many "cups, the edges of which were gilt, whilst their contents were a deadly poison." And who should know it better than the Origen who, deceived by the philosophy of Plato, was himself led astray thereby, and brought great scandal upon Christianity? St. Irenæus styled Plato the "framer of all heresies." Lactantius, a diligent student of the *belles lettres* for years, maintained that "the faith was nowhere so weak as with those persons much given to pagan literature." St. Augustine says: "It is no slight danger to leave the Word of God for that of the world." John Chrysostom thus delivers himself: "I would not have you give to children the fables of mythology for their first lessons." In another place he says: "The first age you say is that of ignorance; yes, and do you not know that what makes this ignorance more profound and more dangerous, is the custom you have of giving it those histories of antique heroes, which teach the child to admire them, though they give themselves up to their passions? \* \* \*

We shall gather the fruits of such an education, which peoples the world with passionate men, without restraints, without morals, accustomed as they are to mix in the mud of vice. St. Basil wants the young people to take Christian principles for their *point of departure*, in order that they may judge all the better of the maxims of pagans. He adds, that the reading of

profane authors is very dangerous, because they preach sensualism, and teach us to admire men who are virtuous in words only." St. Jerome's testimony is of great value here, since he studied most, knew best, and could most justly judge the pagan works and their influence on the student. He says; "Dwell not in the temple of idols. \* \* \* Do not read either the pagan philosophers, or the orators or the poets." He writes to Pope Damasus: "Let us not be too confident that we shall not believe the things we read. It is a crime to drink at the same time of the chalice of Jesus Christ and that of the demons." But his confession is most interesting on this point: "I myself made the dangerous experiment, and these are the bitter fruits I have gathered from it. For several years I quitted the paternal roof; I deprived myself of the society of my parents, of my sister and of my friends; and, what is more difficult still, I renounced the use of delicate meats; and all this with a view of gaining heaven. Having the intention of going to Jerusalem to combat the cause of our Lord, I could not separate myself from the library I had formed with great difficulty, at Rome. Thus, unfortunate that I am, I deprived myself of all; I fasted to read Cicero. After frequent night-watchings, after abundant tears shed for my past faults, I took Plautus in hand. If at times, recovering my senses, I endeavored to read the Prophets, their uncultivated style horrified me, and because my weary eyes did not see the light, I believed it was the fault of the sun rather than of them. Whilst I was thus the toy of the old serpent, I was suddenly ravished in mind, and dragged before the tribunal of the Sovereign Judge. \* \* \* Interrogated as to my position, I replied that I was a Christian. 'Thou liest,' replied the Judge; 'thou art a Ciceronian and not a Christian; for where thy treasure is, there also is thy heart.' At these words I was silent, and the Judge ordered me to be beaten; and the blows that I received were less cruel than the feelings of remorse with which my conscience was torn. I called to mind these words of the Prophet—"Who can praise thee in hell?" How-



ever, I began to weep, and said, with sobs, 'Lord, have pity on me!' At length those who surrounded the throne threw themselves at the feet of the Judge, and asked forgiveness for my youth and delay to do penance for my faults, saying that I would submit to the last punishment if ever I would return to the pagan authors. In this extremity I made great promises. I swore, in invoking the name of God, that if I persisted in keeping my pagan books, I would submit to be considered an apostate. This oath was scarcely pronounced when I was released and I came to myself. To the great astonishment of those who surrounded me, when I opened my eyes they were drowned in tears, which alone was sufficient to convince them of the pain I had suffered. This was not a sleep, a mere dream such as we sometimes experience. I call to witness that tribunal before which I was extended; I call to witness the dreadful sentence that froze me with terror. I never after exposed myself to a similar question—one that led to my shoulders being bruised with blows, the pain of which I long felt. After this I studied the Holy Scriptures with as much zeal as I had formerly exercised in studying profane books." Jerome is said to have kept his promise, and never after read any profane author, even fearing to quote any part of one; hence one saying to him on a certain occasion, that without the pagan authors it would be impossible to speak or write correctly, he replied, "What you admire I abominate, because I have tasted the folly of Jesus Christ; and the folly of Jesus Christ, know well, is wiser than all human wisdom." But let us hear St. Augustine—one so well-versed in heathen lore. The reason his parents urged him to study the "classics" was the same we hear to-day. "They told me that in them was to be found fine language; that from them was to be drawn that eloquence so necessary to persuade and successfully to expose new ideas. \* \* \* What! should we not have known the words, *gremium*, *imbrem*, *aureum*, *fuscum*, if Terrence had not spoken of a young debauchee? No! It is not in learning this turpitude we learn these words, but by these

words we learn to commit with more assurance this turpitude." And now listen to his lamentation over the new departure from the old curriculum of the primitive ages:

"Woe to the torrent of custom! Who will check thy ravages? When wilt thou be dried up? How long wilt thou toss these sons of Eve in this immense, this formidable sea, which the best equipped can scarcely traverse? Is it not this beautiful science of fiction that shows us a thundering and adulterous Jupiter? It is a fiction! cry all the masters. Fiction as much as you will; but this fiction makes crimes to cease to be crimes, and teaches men that in committing such infamies they rather imitate immortal gods than wicked men. And yet, O infernal flood! it is the hope of reward that leads the children of men to embark on thy waves, to learn these things. I do not accuse words, which are as precious and innocent vases, but the mine of error and of vice that drunken masters there present to us; and if we do not drink they chastise us, without our being permitted to call upon a sober judge. \* \* \* And because I learnt these things with pleasure, they called me a child of great hope." This is what he says of Virgil, the author whom we lay before our youth as the most chaste of Latin poets: "I have learned in study many useful words, which I might have acquired by reading things less vain; but more, I have learnt the adventures of I do not know what Æneas, and forgot my own errors. I learned to weep for Dido, who killed himself for having loved too much; but for myself, who found death in reading these culpable follies, I had not a tear to shed. What deplorable stupidity! If they attempted to deprive me of this reading, I wept that I had nothing to weep for." And to such madness is given the name of *belles lettres*! And our professors, regents and masters, who still make the study of what they call "fine Latin" the first consideration, who do not fear to propose Horace, Catullus and Terrence, as models to their pupils, and treat as barbarous all that does not bear a pagan *imprimatur*, may earn something from the words of the great Augustine:

"They obliged me to consider it a matter of the first importance, and induced me by rewards and punishments, to learn these words of Juno, wherein she expresses herself so full of pain and anger at not being able to prevent Æneas from approaching the Italian shore. They obliged me to write in prose what the poet had said in verse; and the one most applauded was the one who depicted best the rage and anguish of this imaginary goddess. Behold, Lord my God, what importance men attach to syllables and letters, whilst they forget Thy precepts! They are more ready to blame an error in pronunciation than an infringement of Thy law. Is it astonishing that these things should have estranged me from Thee, O my God! Since they never cease to propose for my imitation men whom they did not fail to ridicule, if, in relating their actions, irreprehensible as they might be, they were unfortunate enough to commit a barbarism or a solecism, whilst they covered with praise those who related their infamies in correct language."

Lest we might be charged with making too much of the evil effects of such a pagan drill during the younger and receptive period of our lives, we will let the same Father speak his own experience: "When I was further advanced in age, I proposed reading the Scriptures, that I might know what they were. But I was not able to penetrate the sense; my pride refused to submit to their lessons. The style, the ideas, all appeared unworthy to be compared to the majesty of Cicero. The pride of my mind could not bear such language; my eye could not penetrate their depth. The wisdom they contained was childish, and I refused to become a child; and intoxicated with self, I imagined I was something great. \* \* \* \*  
To instruct children from pagan books is not only to teach them useless things; it is to take them from God, and sacrifice them to the demons. What are all these things but wind and smoke? Are there no other means by which to cultivate the mind, to give the tongue eloquence? Thy praises, Lord, so eloquently sung in the Scriptures, would have ele-

vated, would have fixed my feeble heart and prevented its becoming a prey to unclean birds. Ah! there is more than one way of sacrificing man to demons. \* \* \* \* Is it thus, then, that the child should be trained? Are those the models that should be presented to him? In acting thus, you offer neither birds nor animals, nor human blood even. You offer what is much more abominable; you immolate the young on the altar of Satan. \* \* \* \* Thou seest, Lord, and art silent, O Thou, who art full of longanimity, of mercy and of truth! But wilt Thou always be silent? Wilt Thou not draw out of the abyss souls that are made for Thee, and thirst after Thy love?" It will no longer surprise us, after such confession and lamentation, that one of the chief causes of regret to this great man was the fact that he had taught rhetoric according to the pagan method.

The authors of the Middle Ages, as we have already seen, made the proscription of the pagan classics a general law. Gregory the Great wrote the following letter to Didier, Bishop of Vienne, in Dauphine, who had neglected the pontiff's prohibition to teach pagan literature:

"It has reached us, and we cannot call it to mind without blushing, that your fraternity teaches pagan authors in some cases. Such a thing has caused us much pain, and has excited in our heart such a deep disgust, that the pleasure we experienced in receiving news from you is changed into lamentation and sorrow; for the praises of Jupiter should never be in the same mouth with those of Jesus Christ. Consider the crime, the monstrosity, to find in bishops *what is not becoming even to a lay person*. Notwithstanding that our very dear son Candius has come to us since this news has been announced, and having carefully interrogated him, he has denied the fact, and even sought to excuse you, we still continue to be unquiet. We are the more anxious to know of a certainty whether these things be true, seeing that they are the more horrible being found in a priest. If, then, it be proved to us that they are false, and that you do not lose your time about mere trifles,

such as the profane literature, we will render thanks to God who has not permitted your heart to be tarnished by the blasphemous praises of men unworthy of the name."

Lest we should cause our readers to believe that Gregory condemns the teachings of pagan authors in any absolute sense, let us here remark that he who elsewhere *approves* of such a course, cannot mean an absolute prohibition. What he condemns is *the teaching of pagan literature to children*. This is evident from another saying of his, viz.: "It is inexcusable even in lay persons, sincerely religious, who understand both the holiness of the Christian and the disastrous influence of pagan studies on *inexperienced souls*,"

We must now quote the words of a writer who lived towards the middle of the 16th century—Possevin: "Education is not a small thing; it is everything. It is man, it is society, it is religion. \* \* \* \* What is it in the present day that precipitates man into the gulf of sensualism, of injustice, of blasphemy, of impiety, of atheism? It is doubtless because in the colleges, which are the nurseries of the states, they are made to study everything except the Christian authors. If they speak of religion, it is mingled with paganism, that enemy of the soul. Of what use, we will ask, would it be to pour into a vast bin a glass of pure, delicious, well-refined wine, and at the same time a torrent of vinegar and spoiled wine? In other terms, what signifies a little catechism administered weekly with daily doses of pagan impurity and impiety?" \* \* \* \* "Will you save the Republic? Apply the axe to the root; banish from your schools the pagan authors, who, under the false pretext of teaching your children good Latin, teach them the language of hell. Scarcely do they leave the ranks of childhood than they commence their studies of law, or medicine, or they enter the commercial world, and soon forget the little Latin they have acquired, but they do not forget the impurities they have learned by heart from the authors. These things remain engraven on their memories, that during their whole lives they prefer to hear, to read, or to say, vain and

dishonest things, rather than such as are useful and good; they reject the salutary teaching of the word of God, the sermons and religious exhortations that are addressed to them."

The author then asks the question, which is likely to rise to the lips of the reader indeed, to wit: *What must be substituted for the Pagan authorities?* His answer is, that we must return to the ancient use of the Christian authors that were used in the schools and colleges of the middle ages—a custom that was commanded by God Himself, by the Fathers, by the Councils, and by a thousand other reasons. These Text-Books are the Holy Scriptures, the Acts of the Martyrs, the Lives of the Saints, and History of the Church, as we have it embodied in the Fathers and the Councils. And we submit the query—Would not the Theologue of to-day be all the better for having pursued such a course? And, after having come by such a way, of age, he might then indeed, not only without danger, but with profit, study the profane authors, and judge correctly of their teachings, by comparing them with the Christian authors with which he had been nourished first and foremost.

We read of a Canisius, who endeavored to render this salutary lesson practical, by having the Letters of St. Jerome printed for the use of his classes. His copy was adopted in a great many Gymnasiums and Colleges, in Germany and the rest of Europe, with very happy results. The College of Lafayette, at Easton, has covered itself with no little glory in establishing a course of Christian Latin and Greek in its *Curriculum*. For three centuries Paganism has been the principal ingredient in Education. It has imparted its color to Literature, Sciences, Arts, and Common Life. Contempt, or indifference for Religion—an inevitable consequence of such an order—has developed itself on all sides. We lament bitterly over the result. It displays itself in the College, in the Normal School, and in the Primary Chamber. The Chaplain is but a necessary appendage, if that. Quitting the College and University, we enter into society, to notice further the Pagan-drilled youth. Is not gold the god of the age? Pleasure is

the Paradise sought after. Is not the world filled with writers, orators, professional characters and artizans, who follow the examples set for them in their classic molds? One man exclaims: "Upon the question of Paganism or Christianity in Education depends the safety of the world!" And another says: "Another thirty years of Paganism in Education, and it will become the Religion of Europe!" But it is replied: "The remedy would be worse than the evil; for, to banish the great models of pagan antiquity, would be to thrust the world back into the literary barbarism from which humanity has been rescued." We will not undertake the apology of the ancient ages. Still, it is well to honor fatherly and motherly Antiquity somewhat. Our fathers were men like ourselves. They had their defects; but are their children exempt? They were credulous; but is our unbelief, skepticism, atheism, a virtue? Their laws were cruel, and their manners rude; but are profligacy and impiety grand ornaments to society? Their chivalry and devotion we style fanaticism; but what shall we call our egotism?

They build Churches and religious Houses; we build Theatres and Prisons. They sinned, and asked God's pardon in open day; we blaspheme in times of trouble; they fasted, and prayed, and gave alms; we commit suicide. We have discovered steam and electricity; they discovered the compass, and invented printing and gunpowder. We have filled the world with Books; they produced *the Imitation*. We vaunt our glories in war, in the arts and sciences; but were our fathers savages, who raised to the clouds the spires of our Cathedrals, and peopled them with statues; who wrote the history of Time and Eternity in letters of gold, on their windows and walls?

We are silly enough to believe, that the substitution of Christian for Pagan Classics, does *not* lead back to Barbarism, neither in literature nor in morals. And had we the space we might name immortal Kings of Science, Literature, and Art, who had been nurtured on an exclusively Christian pabulum.



Is the Latin of the Gospel barbarous? Is the Latin of the Fathers barbarous? Those who have never looked into Christian Latin lore cannot, and those who have, will not so affirm. As for ourselves, we do not, at all comprehend why any and every ecclesiastic should find it necessary to know the Latin of Livius, Cicero, Virgil, and Horace, and yet be wholly ignorant of St. Thomas, Augustine, and Thomas a Kempis. A certain learned theologian made the following pertinent avowal: "The study of Cicero was useless, or almost useless, to me in treating upon Christian subjects. At first I found myself much embarrassed to write upon religious matters. I then turned my attention to the study of the works of Leo, in the assiduous reading of which I found the true language of the Church, with its elegance, force, and clearness." Would our Seminaries be thought barbarous with respect to the Classics, were they to be versed in the idiom of the Church Fathers? We trow not. Neither the Bar nor the Pulpit, as little as the Counting-house, the Rostrum, the Lyre or Easel, would be any the worse for the change of Classics. Theology, philosophy, literature, and the arts, produced men, under the influence of the Christian Classics, with whom no age can point to any worthy of a comparison. The objection assumes, moreover, that the College and University, with their present array of the Classics, really do produce grand classical scholars. Greek and Latin are the main branches of our collegial studies, and they are badly taught." "All are ignorant of Greek, and *not one* knows Latin well," is the verdict of a distinguished functionary of the University. The best among us can scarcely read a page of Cicero or Tacitus, without the use of a dictionary, and not one is able to discourse in Latin. We do not know Latin or Greek, after having devoted from six to nine years to it! Why is it? *It is because we are trying to resuscitate a dead tongue of a dead people—an impossibility.*

But Christianity is *not* a dead realm, as is the Empire of Paganism. Consequently, the Christian student would with comparative ease render himself familiar with the language and

idiom of his own Kingdom. He would find himself confronted at every step with ideas, facts and things, common to the society and spirit with which he found himself surrounded and animated.

Again, it is perhaps maintained that the *Baccalaureate* demands the study of the Pagan Classics. It is a fearful condemnation of the Christian public conscience, if the case stands thus. But, conceding so much, is it by an irrevocable decree? Is no amendment in order? Shall the evil endure, that the *Baccalaureate* may survive? And we have a suspicion, too, that the Degree of Bachelor would hardly be withheld from a fine scholar in the Christian Classics, seeing that it rains down copiously upon the heads of many in whom abide no Classics at all. But, in brief, it is not meant that the Pagan authors should be wholly shelved. Only this is held; that the Christian authors should be placed in the first rank, and the Pagans occupy a back seat. To know a little less of Phædrus, Æsop, Ovid, Virgil, Cicero, and Demosthenes, and a little more of the Holy Scriptures, the Psalms, the Fathers. Or, if not less of the former—something that could not well be!—then, by all means, vastly more of the latter.

"Innovation!" "Innovation!" "Innovation!" Not so, we reply. With the Jews, the Bible was everything. This, together with the Tradition, which is its commentary, composed the National Science. They loved it as their country; respected it as the Holy Ark; and defended it to blood and death.

The same may be said of the Mohammedans. The Law of the Prophet, accompanied with its Traditions, is the only Book. The child, the youth, and men of every stage and age, are taught to read it, and therein seek for reasons of their conduct. Among these several people the rule was dictated by common sense. The law that underlies their conduct, teaches that the subject must be reared in the spirit of the society that produced him. Hence their offspring are tenacious of their Creed. In the midst of changes, the Jew is still a Jew, and the disciple of the False Prophet remains unmoved. And this fact the

Christian Church well understood in the beginning, and long, long resisted all attempts to swing her from her moorings.

Now, for the Christian nations the Gospel is everything, if it is anything. Thence they draw their intellectual, moral, domestic, civil, literary, artistic and scientific life. To bring up in this Christian element the members of the Republic, should be the first and only aim of Christian civilization. Christian nurture and education is nothing less than the apprenticeship of life. So thought the Church in the early and later ages. Only after they had been well nourished in the Christian aliment, were her youths allowed to go into the pagan sphere, and learn its men, monuments, manners and laws. Then only could they venture into Egypt without becoming slaves. How wise was the law of the ages of faith! With every people, whatever be their religion, *that was everything*. And the Book which embodied the system, was ever put into the hands of the child and veteran, first, last, always. Only in modern times—which may be called the age of chaos—has this law been violated. For several centuries it has stood for nothing. Why need we be astonished, then, that the public conscience has ceased to be Christian? “The Bible in, or out of, the Public Schools,” seems to us to be but an insane cry, so long as this great law of the Christian ages stands for nothing in our public education. But one thing can save the Nations, and that one thing is *an Education decidedly Christian*. Such an education is only possible with Christian Classics. The efforts put forth to preserve Christian society in the pabulum of Paganism, are vain and visionary. Let us return, then, or we shall be lost. Thus shall we render education Christian; and education is society—it is man on both sides of the grave. And to dare to assume and proclaim, that the men, means, and books are not at hand to establish, man, and supply all our Christian educational institutions, after the kingdom of Christ is fast nearing its second millenium—*this is tantamount to the confession—Christianity is a failure.*

## ART. IV.—THE COMPLEMENT OF GENESIS.

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BY THE REV. E. V. GERHART, D. D.

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THE warfare which many of the representatives of natural science are carrying on against Christian cosmology turns mainly upon the account of the creation, as given in the first chapter of Genesis. Natural science assumes that the Mosaic record contains the principal teaching of divine revelation on the subject. It goes even further. Ignoring the fuller teaching found in other portions of Holy Scripture, it assumes that the pictorial representation of Genesis claims to be the complete and exhaustive doctrine of the Christian Church. Hence natural science has directed its attacks principally against this primeval record, taking it for granted that if the doctrine of this record as interpreted by some classes of theologians is exploded or shown to be untrustworthy, then the main pillar of Christian cosmology crumbles, and the entire edifice of Christian truth is demolished.

Were so narrow a view of the scriptural doctrine respecting the origin of the cosmos confined to the reasoning of natural science only, the error would be comparatively harmless. But the same narrow view underlies, in many instances, the vindication of Christian cosmology. In resisting the assaults of the enemy, theologians have very commonly conceded the unwarranted assumption of the Scientist. The pictorial representation of Genesis becomes the great plain of Esdraelon where the Christian Israel is accepting battle with the mighty Jabin and his formidable array of scythe-chariots.

The cosmology of the first chapter of Genesis need not tremble for fear of the Goliaths of naturalism, nor blush for shame in the presence of the numerous discoveries made in the domain of the natural world. Unbelieving science is indeed proud and

self-confident. It is very intelligent as compared with the infantile simplicity of Genesis. Yet notwithstanding the pretentious air and the boastful, threatening voice of science, the modest but sublime imagery of Genesis can maintain its superiority and dignity against every species of cosmogony projected by the unaided reason of mankind. Compared with the mythical dream of the ancient Greeks, or with the atheistic imagery of the Hindoo Vedas, or with the theory of a perpetual dualism of light and darkness, of good and evil forces, taught by the Zend Avesta; indeed compared with any hypothesis, suggested by the non-christian mind of any past or of the present age, respecting the actual beginning of the existing order of the natural and moral world;—the pictorial representation of the pre-historic birth-throes of cosmic law and organized life as discerned by the spiritual genius of the first Seer, stands pre-eminent for depth, compass and wealth of conception, no less than for the grandeur of its imagery and the simplicity of its diction.\*

Superior as is the conception of the forthcoming world, set forth in Genesis, it is nevertheless only a partial representation of revealed truth. The cosmology of Christian revelation undoubtedly includes the idea pictured by the original Seer; but it includes likewise a great deal more. Neither Genesis nor the Old Testament teaches explicitly the whole of the truth. Christ and His apostles teach a doctrine respecting the cosmos no less than a doctrine respecting the way of salvation. As the Christian fulfils the Mosaic economy, and as the salvation revealed in Christ complements the salvation foreshadowed by the ceremonial law; so does the cosmology of the New Testament complement that of the Old. Whilst there is no conflict between the worship of Jehovah according to the ritual established by Moses, and the worship of our Father in Heaven through the Holy Spirit revealed in Jesus Christ, there is nevertheless a

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\* For a concise view of non-christian cosmogonies we refer the reader to a rich and comprehensive article on the Six Days of Creation by Prof. Theodore Appel, D. D., published in the previous number of this Quarterly.

wide difference, a difference involving the genius and spiritual efficacy, as well as the outward form of worship. The worship of the Old Testament without the worship of the New is incomplete; yet the former was the preliminary basis of the latter, and thus for the time a necessity. The law was our school-master unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith.

A similar relation is discernible between the doctrine of creation taught by the Old, and the doctrine taught by the New Testament. Whilst there is no contradiction in any respect between Christian and pre-Christian cosmology, they embody nevertheless two distinct ideas. The idea reigning in Genesis is indeed true; but true only in a relative sense. A different idea rules in the first chapter of the Gospel according to St. John, and in the first chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians; to mention no other passages. A comparison of the revelation made in Jesus Christ with the pictorial representation of the original seer, will at once render apparent a broad contrast no less than an internal harmony.

The conception of the creational process pictured by the record in Genesis, exhibits a partial view only of the world process. The sublime opening: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," may indeed, when interpreted from the standpoint of revelation given in the person of Christ, include much more than the panorama which this opening introduces. The word heaven, or (if the plural of the Hebrew be translated literally) *heavens*, may embrace the innumerable classes of personal beings belonging to the transcendent spiritual world, called by St. Paul thrones and dominions, principalities and powers. Interpreted, however, from the standpoint of the original seer, and in the light of the context, the import of the word *heaven* must be restricted in its application to the visible supernal economy, the planetary and sidereal system as distinguished from the earth. Beginning with the image of universal chaos, the account moves from darkness into light, from confusion and deformity into order and beauty, from an inferior to a superior stage of formations, from the less perfect

to the more perfect kinds of organized life, until at length, when the face of the earth blooms with vegetation, and the lights shine in the heavens, dividing time into days and nights and seasons, the progressive work advancing from below upward becomes relatively complete in the beast of the field. Then ensues a pause, when, unlike the fish of the sea and the fowl of the air and the beast of the field man is formed, not by a word of divine wisdom or power, but by a direct inbreathing from the bosom of God. In the creation of man two factors are united. The same process active in the formation and birth of the lower orders of things, continues in the creation of man. "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground." But another kind of divine activity not seen in the lower orders, is also manifest. Not only is there a movement from below upward looking towards man as the apex and crown of the world, but there is a movement also from above, from the domain of the supernatural and the divine, by which man is constituted in the image of God. "The Lord God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul."

The panorama of Genesis exhibits the formative process culminating in the natural and human only. But the cosmology of the New Testament is not thus circumscribed. It goes beyond the natural and the human. Transcending the limited vision of the original seer, Christ unveils a created universe other than the tangible and visible; a universe invisible to the bodily eye, but no less substantial, to say the least, than the visible, and no less grand and mighty and wonderful. The two worlds are not disconnected and independent. The visible and the invisible, the tangible and the transcendent, are rather the hemispheres of one boundless creation, deeper than the understanding can fathom and higher than the imagination can reach. Reasoning under the guidance of Christian cosmology, the two spheres being so closely connected, are to be regarded as mutually conditioning and affecting each other; all the kingdoms of the visible world and their phenomena being governed, not by



physical laws and forces exclusively, but just as certainly by metaphysical laws and by spiritual forces and spiritual agencies. Christianity tolerates neither a deistic separation of God from the processes of the natural world, nor a dualistic division of the laws and phenomena of nature from the presence and activity of God. No defense of the Bible against materialism, and no argument against the skeptical scientist can therefore be properly Christian and do full justice to biblical cosmology, which emphasizing only visible phenomena and natural processes, ignore that vast hemisphere of the created universe, with the life and influence of which all accessible phenomena are connected by an indissoluble bond.

The cosmology of the New Testament complements the cosmology of the original seer under another view still more significant and important. Partial in respect of extent, the pictorial representation in Genesis may also be said to be deficient in respect of causation. Deficient only, we mean, but not in any sense untrue or faulty. Genesis ascribes the origin of heaven and earth immediately to God (Elohim). And the manner in which the light became, and the work of creating the worlds during six days was accomplished, is expressed by the sublime formula: *And God said*. As the psalmist translates this formula: He spake and it was; He commanded and it stood fast. Heaven and earth was brought into existence, mediated only by the *word* of God. The creating work is referred to the energy of the divine will, active in the divine speaking. But what the word or speaking of God postulates and involves does not appear from the record in Genesis, when studied under the guidance exclusively of Old Testament revelation.

The depth of meaning hidden in the formula: *And God said*, is brought to light by the revelation of God as Creator in Christ. According to the New Testament, the *Word* of God's Almighty will is the *personal Word*. All things were made by Him, (the Word, that was in the beginning with God), and without Him was not anything made that was made. St. Paul teaches the mutual relation between the Father and Jesus

Christ in the origination and the continuation of the cosmos, when he says: "To us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we by Him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by Him." Agreeably to this teaching, to which every other statement on the subject given in the New Testament corresponds, God made the worlds, that is, the cosmos coming into existence through the succession of the ages, by His Son. Christ is the mediator, as of the redeeming and saving, so also of the creating and upholding activity of Almighty God. It is this mediation of Jesus, the Son of God, related on the one side to the Father as the image of the invisible God, and on the other related to the cosmos as archetype of the creature, which distinguishes the Christian doctrine of creation from pagan cosmogonies, and from every theory of the natural world suggested by the study of merely visible and tangible phenomena.

There are other important elements in Christian cosmology, distinguishing it from the myths of paganism, and from all the theories of modern science adverse to Christianity. No further delineation, however, is necessary for our present purpose.

In assailing the representation drawn in Genesis the scientist does indeed assail revealed truth; but he assails revealed truth respecting creation under one subordinate aspect only; and that aspect not as it may be taught by the abstract formulas of science, but as confronting faith in a simple yet rich pictorial garb. If he succeeds in exciting doubt respecting the curves of some of the lines in the picture, so far from rendering Christian cosmology unworthy of credit, he fails even to touch its essential features, not to speak of its fundamental principle. Indeed, the scientist absorbed in observing and investigating natural phenomena only, valuable and necessary as we concede his work to be, may be so blind to one entire hemisphere of the cosmos as to be incapable of appreciating the hidden wealth and grandeur of Christian cosmology. There is a vast territory of creation unveiled by the word of God, to which he deliberately shuts his eyes; assuming, when he criticizes the hem of

the outer garment in which the Personal Word appears on the threshold of revelation, that he actually silences the creative voice of the Word, and even nullifies the reality of His presence.

Natural science has not touched the kernel, either of the Old or of the New Testament. The doctrine proper respecting the cosmos the non-christian scientist does not imagine it to be worth his while to consider. This fact, that he overlooks and wilfully ignores the distinctive characteristics of biblical cosmology, it is important to emphasize. Failing to emphasize these distinctive characteristics, and joining issue with non-christian science, when it assails the first chapter of Genesis, on the assumption that that pictorial representation contains the whole doctrine of the Bible, the Christian theologian puts himself at a disadvantage in two ways.

On the one hand, he relinquishes the strong vantage ground which the doctrine proper of biblical cosmology affords in maintaining the truth of divine revelation against the assaults of non-christian science. The truth to be maintained is not so much a conception of the details of the process by which through successive stages the existing visible order of things was constituted, as the Faith that the universe in its totality, visible and invisible, natural and spiritual, is not an eternal existence, and comes forth neither by chance nor from nothing, but that of this universe God is the author and the former, the medium and organ of divine activity in originating and fashioning the cosmos being that same Word of God who in the fulness of time was made flesh. In asserting this Christian doctrine, in opposition to every hypothesis of the natural understanding, lies the strength, the impregnable strength of biblical cosmology, when assailed by the materialist or naturalist. If we remain within the walls and upon the ramparts of the citadel, the citadel will be our protection and our triumph; but if we sally forth and accept battle on the treacherous soil outside, the citadel will not be demolished, but the defenders may fall.

On the other hand, if the defender of biblical cosmology contends with the scientist on the assumption that in criticising Genesis, the scientist is assailing the whole Christian doctrine of creation, he makes a false concession which in the judgment of the world and even of many Christians, clothes his antagonist with factitious strength. Indeed the chief strength of the antagonizing scientist is not in the interesting results of his researches in the domain of nature, nor in his generalizations inferred from a more extended knowledge and better classification of natural phenomena, but in the silent assumption that his hypotheses suggested by a narrow and superficial observation of cosmical phenomena are in fact directed against the *whole* truth of divine revelation.

But for this apparent strength imparted by such undue concession, the hostile attitude of naturalism would be comparatively insignificant. The science of nature, by whatever spirit it may be animated, will no more endanger or prejudice the science of grace, when true to its principle and vocation, than the economy of nature has been able to prevent or bar out the economy of grace. In point of fact these two economies, nature and grace, coexist and together address our perception and faith. Likewise must there be, for thought, intrinsic harmony between the corresponding sciences, so far forth at least as the science of nature and the science of grace are both valid.

## ART. V.—TENDENCY IN THOUGHT TO INTUITION.

THE poet Milton has told us of the human soul, that

"Reason is her being,  
Discursive or intuitive."

Discursive reason may be defined as what we ordinarily call the power of thinking,—that is, the ability to go through processes of thought and arrive at conclusions. Intuitive reason, on the other hand, is to be understood as the power of directly beholding truth, and, as it were, visually comprehending it. The primary or original intuitions of reason are generally described as those first truths or simplest apprehensions of relations which we naturally take in at first thought, and which appear to us so plain that we see not how any clearer insight into them could be obtained by any effort to resolve them into still simpler elements; or how we could add to their validity by any argument. That two things which are severally equal to the same third thing are equal to each other, has but to be clearly thought, we are told, in order to be known. There are involved in this simple thought, to be sure, two admitted facts and a deduction from them. There are then, three parts, one of which is reckoned the intuitive perception. If it be granted that one certain thing (A) is equal to another certain thing (C), and again that a certain thing (B) is equal to the same other thing (C), it is intuitively perceived that the two things (A and B) must be equal to each other.

But the question arises whether the intuitiveness of a truth is absolutely dependent upon its simplicity—whether a discursive process may not end in a perception having in effect all the clearness and singleness of an axiom. We have seen that two given facts occasion a third one to arise spontaneously in consciousness. This third cognition is said to arise *immediately* on the presentation of the other two. Still the imme-

diateness is not such as to preclude all succession. The two given facts have to be thought each and severally before they blend into a resultant third. If the axiom be presented to a child of ten years in the above ordinary form, namely: Two things which are each equal to the same third thing are equal to each other, even the slight complexity of the thought will most likely be confusing; and it will be needful to give some concrete form to the three things—by exhibiting in succession, for instance, two books, or two weights, each of similar size with a third one, in order to elicit the inference of the equality of the two. Farther on in mental experience, the mere mention of the usual worded form will be instantly responded to in thought.

Advancing reason will add on other links of argument to the first simple one; and the succession of these in thought may become by familiar use so rapid that the result may seem nearly as quickly reached as in the case of the simple axiom: indeed the consciousness may in some cases flash over a long chain with almost electric swiftness. One is reminded of the rapidity with which a mental process can be carried on from step to step, by observing the performances of a "lightning calculator," who seems to sum up a column of figures by a momentary inspection. This is also a good illustration of the fact that great rapidity in mental action may, if properly managed, comport with strict accuracy. The omission or wrong reading of a single figure in the column would render the computation valueless; but the correctness of the result shows that nothing has been omitted.

Such feats cannot be performed, however, without much previous practice. The child's or unpractised person's putting together of numbers must needs be slow and toilsome. Similar is the truth with regard to the comprehension of any other complex whole. First there is the laborious learning of details, and then—if in fact this first work is really done—a clear perception of the whole. After looking successively into all the parts, for instance, of an intricate machine, beginning at the

point where the power is applied, and tracing in the order of cause and effect through to where the work is done, the mind inclines to review in the same order the impressions it has received, and indeed to repeat this process until it can, as it were, take in the entire series at a single glance; and then it expresses its satisfaction by saying it can "see through" the whole movement. What was at first a confusing puzzle has at length become transparent. The same principle applies to all our mental efforts in the development of science or truth. The endeavor is so to arrange and connect the facts or reasons that in the end all shall have a clearly seen unity of significance. The many must somehow be made one, in order fully to satisfy the desire of reason. Hence the frequent resort to diagrams, to figures of speech (which are a sort of mental diagrams), to all sorts of stratagems for making a whole process of thinking apparent in a single view. Even when a course of reasoning takes a strictly scientific and demonstrative form, we are fully satisfied with it only when we can "see through" it, and not merely trace it by slow and careful steps from the beginning to the conclusion. How often does it occur that a listener to an argument can be led to acknowledge the validity of every step in succession, but yet will recoil the next moment from the conclusion he has just assented to, because he has not comprehended the general lay and direction of the argument in its unity and entirety. The old gentleman who was inclined to disbelieve that the world turns on its axis, but was at length constrained by argument to admit that "the *world* does turn round," had to add, "but *this earth* does not turn round; for if it did my son's mill-pond would not be worth a cent"; because he had not so grasped the general construction of the subject as to see that the relations of *up* and *down*, on which he conceived the permanence of the pond to depend, were merely relative. The logic of science was too strong for him, while yet the real conceptions of science were unknown to him.

Perhaps no one oftener than the practical teacher has occasion to observe the difference between a constrained conviction



arising from the mere perception of logical sequence, and that more generous comprehension which comes from a connected view of all the essential relations of the subject presented. In the one case he observes that, though the pupil's mouth may make confession, his countenance exhibits a puzzled and dissatisfied look; while in the other case he sees in the student's lighted eye an assent more assuring than any form of words.

It is true that we frequently have to content ourselves with an indirect knowledge, or with truth obtained through a long and labyrinth-like process, which cannot for its very tortuousness be seen through. But the fact that truth must in many cases thus be seen "through a glass darkly" does not diminish the desirableness of seeing her "face to face," whenever this is practicable. Truth under a veil is, to be sure, a charming object; but her radiant, open countenance gleams with loveliness to the eye of Reason. That what can be seen is more generally desired than what is merely thought or conceived, may be inferred from the avidity with which the mass of mankind pursue after the former, while so few show any zeal in the pursuit of the latter. A few paltry grains of "gold that glitters" with the majority charm more than a heaven full of treasures that are hidden from the present view. Nay, even he who has chosen the better part, and whose faith has laid hold of treasures richer than those of earth, dwells much on an anticipation of faith's being changed to sight—on an expected time when no longer will the spiritual present itself so much after the similitude of a silvery lining to a cloud.

Indeed, it is obvious that it is largely the object of mental training to habituate the mind to reduce the manifold to unity, to collect the various and the multitudinous into a homogeneous totality capable of being grasped in a single view, to focalize the separate rays of truth into a bright and clear image. All systematizing, all methodic arrangement, all endeavors to discover relations of causality or sequence, in short, all attempts at earnest thinking tend more or less definitely to this object. Of course it would be useless to undertake to prove that all

which can in any sense be called knowledge may readily be converted into the form of intuitions. In so far as percepts of a higher order are the results of combinations\* of those of a lower or simpler order, much time and mental effort may sometimes be required in order to render a synthesis of the simpler percepts so familiar and so capable of spontaneous repetition as to give to the general effect a properly intuitive character. It hardly need be added that no suggestions in this line can be regarded as formal *rules* for making results of reasoning self-evident. The clearness of thought will always depend very much on the live interest of the thinker; and no sort of mental methodizing can be successfully substituted for this live interest. A person can far the more easily see a point which he desires to see. Only the most earnest thought ends with the exultant *heureka*.

At the same time, method must not be ignored; and the earnest thinker will take no offence at the statement that nothing is gained towards any valuable mental achievement by an omission of any part of the mediating process because it involves labor. To ignore logical relations and *jump* at conclusions is no way to get into favor with Truth. It is her nature to repel such rude familiarities. There is doubtless no better way of securing the most desirable results in thinking than by cheerfully obeying the laws of thought. If earnest contemplation shall chance to end in more exalted visions than it naturally promises—as we may see further on sometimes occurs—such results are to be thankfully “set down to gain,” but are never to be looked forward to and claimed as the proper rewards of unmethodic thinking. In fact, such happy surprises may be often really due to a more methodic and thorough-going effort than the subject, in his love of research, has been aware

\* It is not necessary to regard *all* intuitions of the higher order as being in the first instance products of conscious synthesis. As in nature we discover chemical compounds, often highly complex, and only more rarely simple elements, so mental apprehensions are quite as likely to require analytic as synthetic treatment; yet we may regard them as generally capable of giving new results by appropriate combinations.

of making. On the true mode of procedure a suggestion may be obtained from the method of constructing an optical instrument, the purpose of which bears some analogy to the one under consideration. The lenses for such an instrument must with the greatest care be ground to the precise mathematical shape. Then, in the arrangement of the several lenses, strict accuracy must be observed in regard to their proper distances from each other, as indicated by their several powers of refraction. Again, the combination of different kinds of glass or other transparent material must be such as to neutralize the chromatic or coloring tendency of a single kind, at least if the very best result is to be expected. And finally, the inner surface of the tube must be blackened so as to shut off all light except simply that from the object to be viewed. The result of all this pains-taking will illustrate very happily the ancient maxim, *Ars est celare artem*; for, when the eye is applied to the instrument, all the work of the artist will disappear in its perfect transparency—while a new world of wonders, consisting, it may be, in the thousand shining eyes of an insect, or in the variegated surface of some distant orb, will cover the field of vision.

By a process involving not less of care and critical observance must the clear apprehension of truth not within the grasp of common sense unaided by methodic investigation be attained. Every principle, argument, or fact, to be used as an auxiliary, must be well understood and thoroughly tested in advance of its being so used. Of what avail would it be for one to undertake to determine the volume of a sphere when he has not yet familiarized himself with the series of solid forms which furnish the stepping-stones to the proposed determination? The cubical unit of volume being unconformable with the sphere to be measured, the two forms can be compared only by means of a set of intermediates so adapted by special construction that the contents of any two in succession can be viewed under a common concept. Suppose now that the whole series of intermediate figures and relations in their proper order have become

so familiarized that they can be passed in rapid review; the result will be in effect an intuitive view of a method of computing the required volume.

Again, let the theory of dew be the subject of inquiry. Here facts must furnish the arguments. But the facts of nature are not always so accommodating to our special purpose as the invented fictions of spatial forms just now considered. There is a certain misleading tendency in many observations when taken singly. The fact that dew is generally found only on the upper surface of leaves and ordinary objects may seem to suggest that the dew falls in a fine mist from an atmosphere overcharged with moisture. But the further fact that *some* upper surfaces, under the best exposure, do not receive dew, taken along with still others, that dew is sometimes formed on the vertical sides of vessels containing cold water, and that it is even deposited on the under surface of certain objects under proper conditions, all goes to show that the single case of dew on the upper surface of leaves gives in its evidence not without some apparent false coloring. Still, when all the facts and principles involved are properly arranged in the mind, they are found so to blend with each other and to focalize their various rays of evidence that a clear and simple theory is the result—perhaps none the less clear and simple because a variety of different points has to be considered in the course of the mental process which resolves the apparent contradictions. Indeed a single dew-drop, glistening with the rainbow hues into which it has analyzed a ray of sunlight, may be said to present quite as much mysterious complexity as the whole subject of dew-formation does, now that it has once been explained by science.

The importance of giving strict attention to the special topic in hand, and not allowing the mind to be disturbed by extraneous considerations, is a point scarcely requiring illustration. The person whose "eyes are in the ends of the earth," or whose thoughts are similarly distracted on all occasions, stands by common consent in no great probability of winning a place among the noted philosophers.

In short, the procedure requisite for giving tangibility and distinctness to the results of extended reasonings is much the same as that required for the strict and thorough discipline of the mind itself. Genuine mental culture shows itself in a growing tendency to gather one meaning from many facts, one conclusion from many reasons, one sum from many particulars. This is illustrated by the numerical notation now in use throughout the civilized world. Up to a certain number single units can be conveniently thought separately, but by the decimal notation when ten units are collected they are summarized into one unit of the second order. Ten of the second order are written and thought as one of the third order, and so on. But even this method of summarizing is not always compendious enough for the growing wants of scientific conception. A lecturer, discussing the physical properties of the luminiferous ether, had occasion to speak of a pressure of seventeen million million pounds to the square inch. "Of course," said he, "such numbers convey no impression except that of vast magnitude; and you will obtain a clearer idea of the power when I tell you that this pressure is about the weight of a cubic mile of granite rock."\* Such an illustration could hardly have occurred to the speaker by chance. It must have been selected and a computation have been made, with the special purpose of gathering up within visible dimensions an otherwise incomprehensible quantity. Nor is the purpose so very different in kind when the whole force of an elaborate argument is summed up in a simple proposition.

Were we to adopt the views of some modern psychologists, we might assume that those simple propositions which are called axioms are really condensed presentations of numerous experiences. "They are," says J. S. Mill, "experimental truths; generalizations from observation." Mr. Mill argues stoutly against the theory of Mr. Whewell, "that the truth of axioms cannot have been learned from experience, because their falsity

\* *The New Chemistry*, by J. P. Cooke, Jr., p. 23.

is inconceivable."\* In proof of his position he refers to the fact that some of the simplest laws of nature were on their first announcement looked upon as paradoxes. The first law of motion, namely, "that a body once in motion would continue forever to move in the same direction with undiminished velocity, unless acted upon by some new force, was a proposition which mankind found for a long time the greatest difficulty in crediting." But, though so contrary to the general belief at first, it seems to have become at length so familiarized as to be looked upon in a very different light. Even Whewell is quoted as saying that "Though the discovery of the first law of motion was made, historically speaking, by means of experiment, we have now attained a point of view in which we see that it might have been certainly known to be true independently of experience." It would seem, then, as Mill claims, that association has much to do with the apparent intuitiveness which attaches to primary laws and truths; that, at least in some instances, ideas which on their first presentation draw from the minds of philosophers at best a questioning assent come by frequent repetition and trial to assert themselves as if the consistency of mind itself were dependent on them.

A careful consideration of the whole subject might possibly lead to a doubt whether there is, strictly speaking, a class of axiomatic or intuitive truths separable by an absolute line from truths requiring demonstration or proof. Certainly in the department of science which has most occasion to use this distinction the line is differently drawn by different masters. That "All right angles are equal to each other" is an axiom to some geometers, and a provable theorem to others. But is it necessary to believe that one who classes it as a theorem sees it less intuitively than the one who sets it down among axioms? If not, the line of demarkation just spoken of may be practically removed; and we may look for a possibility of mediated intuition almost everywhere in the realms of knowledge, though we

\* Mill's *Logic*, p. 160.

be not permitted to hope for absolutely immediate intuition anywhere.

This view seems to be favored by the fact that many times intensely studious minds have as by instinct grasped truths of a high order. There would seem thus to be something like a gradation of intuitive perception, dependent on the grade of mental culture and activity. If, as Hemholtz appears to think,\* it was owing to a succession of every-day experiences that mankind first arrived at space-intuitions in agreement with the axioms of Euclid, it may not be difficult to imagine that a higher order of every-day experiences would lead to a correspondingly higher order of ready perceptions. That one having much occasion to use the powers of binomials should at length hit upon a law of formation by which the computation could be greatly facilitated—should, in other words, invent the Binomial Theorem, one of the great lever-powers of quantitative science, is perhaps no more out of the line of natural results than that a person much engaged in weighing a bulky material in large quantities should in time discover that all the corners of a broad platform could be supported by similar levers acting like the simple steelyard and by their combined action giving the aggregate weight, and should embody this discovery in a platform scale, destined to become the standard weighing machine for the world. The principle of the latter invention is so simple that it can be understood at a glance by any tyro in mechanics. Yet the evolution in consciousness of so plain a fact as that the combined indications of several steelyards supporting by their several short arms the same object give the true weight of the object, seems to have required not only a long "succession of every-day experiences," but also a specialized form of those experiences involving an urgent need of its practical employment. Necessity, in accordance with the proverb, was the mother of *this* invention. A strong sense of need has a tendency to sharpen perception, as is illustrated in the instinct of animals. But the mind has its theoretical needs as

See "MIND," No. 3, (July, 1876,) p. 320.



well as its practical. Nor is a sense of this higher need less quickening to the intellectual instincts—if we may so speak—than is that of physical want to the lower perceptive spontaneities. The earnest student of science finds every now and then his progress coming to a stand-still unless he can discover some new principle, or at least some new significance of principles already known to him. Under the stimulus of the situation thought makes an extra effort, resulting, if successful, in rousing to activity a faculty called by some writers a power of “original suggestion.” Original suggestion need not be supposed in every case to present an absolutely new idea, but may perform the office of raising into prominence and distinctness what was obscure or latent in thought. But this is no small change. The smoking pile that bursts into a flame sheds a light which it did not shed before. What if the product of suggestion shall prove to be capable of analysis—of being resolved into simpler notions? It need not be the less intuitive for this reason. The flame of a lamp is not the less visible because it involves some complexity of chemical and physical action, nor does it illuminate less, surrounding objects.

Indeed there seems to be no good reason why the higher orders of thought should not possess as much self-assurance as the lower—why axiom, original suggestion, and demonstrative intuition should not all rise to a grade proportionate with the themes contemplated; provided only that the mind has risen to these themes through a course of legitimate progress. If even a Chimpanzee may have the sagacity to use a stone to crack his nuts with, should not a philosopher be expected to find some adequate means for cracking his harder nuts?

The growth of association is well exhibited in the process of learning to read. The slow and difficult recognition of single letters and of their powers in the simplest syllables develops by practice into a power to take in whole words, sentences and, as some readers claim, whole pages, almost at a glance. The facility with which some musical performers read and execute at sight all the parts of the most complicated compositions

would be incredible, were it not for the direct evidence of the senses. It is to be noted here again that the great rapidity with which large numbers of particulars are put together does not prevent cognizance of each particular. The most rapid reader will be very likely to detect a typographical error of a letter, though he may be quite unconscious of any such tedious labor as that of spelling out the pages he is perusing. It is a real union of all the parts and not a sort of average of them that is formed. But the work of reading is not finished with ever so complete a construction of *worded* thought. The accomplished reader, though in one sense taking such scrupulous cognizance of the words, looks in fact right through them upon a scene of real life and characters, or upon a living exhibition of real forces. The in themselves opaque and meaningless forms of written language have thus become as transparent as the lenses of an opera-glass, and are used for the analogous purpose of bringing into livelier view objects much more interesting than themselves. The task of learning to read is not properly done until, as a rule, the mind is able to go through all the associational and constructional processes without conscious effort, and to discern *intuitively* the real things treated of in the discourse. Mental intuition thus does for the printed page what the illustrative picture or diagram does—only that the mind's picture is a living, moving one, and its diagrams, where activity is required by the conception, are instinct with stirring energy. The character in history or fiction, the fact or principle in science, or the idea in philosophy, stands out before the view of the intelligent reader as if not the least obstruction lay in the pathway of perception.

In this case, then, the mental action does not stop with a mere integration of the elements directly presented, but goes on to a presentation which words can only hint at. So an argument in science does not always so much bring one *to a certain conclusion* as it elevates him to a position whence a new view is obtained. Intense meditation upon a set of relations may end in a flash of perception, in a generalizing glance, which mere

argument-piling could never realize of itself. Of such flashes of perception are theories born. At first, to be sure, the claim of the latter to being called by the name of theories is not admitted; it not yet being settled whether we have in view a real star of truth or only a blazing comet. A good illustration of this is to be seen in the so-called law of Avogadro, or of Ampere, which was first announced in the early part of the present century, but "remained barren for nearly half a century." Now, however, it forms the starting point and foundation-principle of the "New Chemistry"; occupying in that science a place, it is said, analogous to that occupied by gravitation in Astronomy. The generalization involved in it was so far in advance of the then state of science that apparently no important use could be made of it, and so it had to bide its time. Only a very few minds possessed, or at least exercised, the penetrating insight needed for catching the grand intuition.

Another instance of far-reaching generalization is furnished in the history of the nebular hypothesis or theory; the true credit of which is said to belong primarily to Sir William Herschel; though Laplace so early took it up and elaborated it mathematically as to have gained with some the honor of having originated it. Herschel first applied himself to observing and classifying the more or less chaotic or vapor-like masses of matter scattered through the heavens, finding among them "patches of extensive, diffused nebulosity; 'milky nebulosity,' with condensation; round nebulae, with a nucleus; and so on till he reaches stellar nebulae, nearly approaching the appearance of stars." After he had thus observed and catalogued a vast number of nebulae, "by degrees it dawned upon his mind that the differences he observed in them were systematic, and at length occurred the magnificent intuition that the nebulae are stars in process of formation." \*

Such examples go to the point that intuition is by no means limited to the lower planes of science—that it waits on thorough-

\* See *Littell*, No. 1685; "*Modern Philosophers on the probable Age of the World*"; from *Quarterly Review*.

going investigation of every grade, ever lighting and alluring thought to higher and nobler generality. They also illustrate how intuitions of the higher order sometimes precede perfect induction. A good illustration of the largely *a priori* character of mental procedure in the discovery of law is to be seen in a statement of James Ward, (*Mind*, No. 4, p. 458), in regard to "Fechner's Law" giving the relation between increase of stimulus and increase of corresponding sensation. He remarks that in Fechner's case "the interpretation (*i. e.*, of the law) led to the facts, and not the facts to the interpretation"—the law itself having been reached "by mere guessing and left for a time without verification."

Such a case of guessing is, however, carefully to be distinguished from a thoughtless "jumping at a conclusion" adverted to on a previous page. A *guess* which is of any value to science generally comes of a mental vision exalted through the excitement of anxious search (as in the case just mentioned). The pearl has been *dived for*, and not merely *found*. It is said that Laplace, though expending great labor on the proof that the sun with its attendant planets could have been produced by the condensation of a vast nebula, still was careful to speak of the conception only as an "hypothesis"\* being himself distrustful of it. And, great as is the present popularity of the theory, well might its first elaborator be distrustful of it as being perfect and quite sufficient for all the demands of future science. Now, it is coming to be understood almost as the rule, that all theories are subject to modification. The grand intuitions caught from the heights of science are visions of truth looming up in the distance. Nearer approach, or, what answers the same purpose, more penetrating perception, may change the vision quite sensibly.† Nor, as it once

\* *Ibid.*

† Here *analysis* plays the part adverted to in a previous note. A hypothesis has to be justified through a justification of its several implications. As these implications are often very numerous (requiring as numerous a set of verifying facts), it does not seem strange that first views of broad generalizations should be somewhat mazy and confused.

was, are there but two or three great prophets of science to whom all others are to look expectantly, but hosts of *seers* are vying with each other to catch the first glimpse of the new, or the first sign of changed aspect in the old.

There are a few practical aspects of our subject which it may be proper to glance at briefly. One point of considerable importance is that the tendency to intuitional views extends to the mass of mankind, who are much better pleased with such presentations of subjects as give them an intuitive character than they are with such as deal only with logical relations unilluminated by synoptical picturing; the consequence being that the writer or speaker who delivers himself, so to speak, pictorially, who studies scenic effect, and gives even to argument a metaphoric tangibility, has greatly the advantage over one of an opposite turn, in getting a general hearing. The art of vivid presentation is therefore of no small consequence, not only to the professional rhetorician, but to all thinkers who desire a wide audience. It hardly needs to be added that thinking men in every department are seeing this point and acting accordingly. Scientists and philosophers, besides their esoteric work in the laboratory, the observatory, over the microscope, or in the study, are working up their several topics into shapes generally presentable, and by their popular lectures and treatises are making mankind their audience and converting the world into a university. Indeed the world of culture at the present time judges of greatness rather by its ability to *present* subjects than by its power to *think* them. Very few philosophers of the Diogenes type are now to be found who are willing to hunt for talent by only the glimmer of a lantern which they themselves carry. It is expected rather that wherever the oil of truth is, there a flame will appear, caught from some one of the many flying sparks. Science of every grade is thus stimulated by urgent motives to put its conceptions, so far as practicable, in evident forms.

But, as in other cases, so here there may be too much of a good thing. There is, to be sure, at present no apparent danger

of too much *genuine* popular science; yet the fact that graphic imaging of ideas holds so high a place in the art of communicating gives at least a seeming advantage to quacks and mountebanks, who satisfied with mere phantasms of truth do not cultivate either in themselves or others a desire for research into its grounds. There is danger, thus, of a sacrifice of thoroughness to brilliancy. Modest knowledge is liable to be out-rivaled by glittering sciolism. Still we may hope that any such evil will prove comparatively temporary; that, as whole communities in the onward march of knowledge become more completely cultured, pretentious ignorance will find few spheres for display where it will not have to meet the annihilating gaze of argus eyes. The present demand for a portrayal of thought almost reverting to the primitive picture-style of writing, may not, then, we may trust, lead to any permanent damage to thought itself; while it may on the contrary prove in the end to be promotive of consistency in thinking processes, by stimulating a constant spirit of inquiry as to whether ideas which one proposes to combine into a whole are really so congruous and compatible that they can be distinctly and intelligibly co-represented. There is certainly great room for improvement on this point; so much of the work of accredited erudition bearing resemblance to what was once put on exhibition as the vertebral column of a huge serpent, but which proved under the inspection of a naturalist to be composed of the vertebrae of three snakes combined.

But, again, there is perhaps a sense in which an excessive demand for obviousness and tangibility of meaning may work real injustice to a class of thought and of thinkers. The very finest presentations of thought can be properly appreciated only through a corresponding culture of the mental perceptive faculties. One has no right to require that another show him what he is unwilling to take the pains to see; or, as a homely adage has it, the same person "can not talk and find ears." There may be an unfairness in characterizing an exposition of a subject as dry, uninteresting, and unintelligible, when perhaps all

the fault is in the critic's own neglect to work up to an intuitional power of sufficiently high grade, at least in regard to the special topic to be contemplated. Every teacher knows, however, that young minds are frequently inclined to indulge in such criticisms on scientific treatises, and perhaps the oftener on those very parts on which the greatest pains have been bestowed to insure distinctness. The present writer has just now in mind the case of a student who on entering the recitation-room (in advance of his class) remarked that the lesson for that day was "rather dry." The reply was to the effect that some choice articles of food *would be dry* if the salivary glands did not act their part—that there was a work for the *subject* to do, if he would rightly apprehend the *object*.

But since this point is of some importance, let me further illustrate it by a reference to a recent Article \*.which points out an essential condition of the finest physical vision. We shall see that the undergraduate student is not the only one who fails in part to realize the best possible results from the facilities furnished him. "Indeed, at the present time," remarks the writer, "the finest English and American lenses are greatly in advance of the skill and competence of the majority of microscopists and specialists who employ the microscope. Our text-books are almost silent on the subject of the employment of lenses exceeding in magnifying power a thousand diameters. Yet we do not hesitate to say that at least one English house furnishes an instrument, with almost perfect corrections, which magnifies ten times this amount; but an instrument like this, just as it involves incomparably higher skill in its device and manufacture, so it demands patience, perseverance, and suitable culture, in a far more than ordinary degree, to employ it as a real aid to vision."

He goes on to indicate that, while much valuable work has been, and still remains to be, done by the use of "low powers,"

\*See *Littell's Living Age*, No. 1700: "The Microscope and its Revelations;" from the *London Quarterly Review*.



there is in the field of science a plenty of use for the very highest possible microscopic function—that, in fact, most important fields of research can be worked only by the employment of the very best combinations of lenses which the optician can produce. But I am tempted to quote a few words more on the reluctance manifested to entering upon a thorough-going preparation for the best work. “The men who, as true scientific workers, can employ the ‘one-fiftieth’ of an inch lens, or even higher powers, with the same ease as they can a ‘one-eighth’ of an inch, or a ‘one-twelfth’ of an inch, are extremely few in England, fewer still in America, and scarcely to be found at all on the Continent. All this arises from a repugnance to enter upon the laborious apprenticeship which their successful employment involves, and without this even the benefit of their employment can not be seen.”

If, indeed, it be true that the best aids to those ravishing visions which Nature offers to her votaries, are thus unappreciated, there need be, perhaps, no wonder if the intended helps to more subtle perception, though ever so well wrought out, should sometimes fail of a proper recognition, should in fact be voted uninteresting and impracticable. It can thus be imagined that some of the very best and intrinsically most successful efforts to secure for all earnest seekers a lively view of certain finer features of Truth may experience, at least temporarily, a partial failure. But here, again, time often works a remedy. The man who does better work than his own age can appreciate may generally anticipate a reverse of its verdict by the not very distant future. In these latter days of rapid developments it is, indeed, among possible occurrences that a proposed mode of conception at first rejected or even ridiculed as fraught only with falsehood, may, almost within the smaller fraction of a scientific life-time, accomplish much towards winning the general consent of reason.

It will not fail to have been observed that the eye's need of high culture in order to a proper appreciation of high microscopic powers, applied just now especially to illustrating a requi

site for a corresponding appreciative insight into accomplished results of thought, has at the same time furnished strong analogic evidence for the main theory of this essay, namely, *that the mind's power of original intuition increases with its culture.*

But if, in accordance with the drift of what has been said, the intuitional function is somewhat dependent on experience in mental combination and association, a practical question may arise as to the extent to which apparently intuitive perception may be relied on as furnishing indubitable truth. Is the mental eye subject to deception, as the physical one is? Has the *ignis fatuus* a place in the intellectual vocabulary? It certainly would seem inadmissible to answer in advance all such questions with an unqualified negative. It is certain, too, that during centuries of the past doctrines were taught, supposed to represent some of the simplest laws of nature, which, however, experiment and observation proved to be false, or founded on "inappropriate" or unmeaning conceptions. Such announcements as that two balls, if dropped, will fall with velocities proportional to their respective weights; and that bodies falling to the earth, flame ascending, bubbles rising in water, and all spontaneously or *naturally* moving bodies are moving *towards their own place*, sound sufficiently oracular to be worthy of a place among the original deliverances of reason; and when to this *prima facie* evidence is added the authority of one of the greatest names of antiquity, what wonder that they should have passed for a long time unquestioned? What has been repeated as truth through many generations, has by that simple fact become invested with a kind of axiomatic authority. There is, doubtless, a sense in which a thing seems true in proportion to the relative vividness of its impression on the mind. What more favorable chance for a thorough impression than when an ardent, youthful mind takes in the words of an ancient sage reinforced by the weighty sanction of an honored preceptor, especially in an age when both these authorities are accustomed to receive unquestioning homage? The teacher of to-day, though less an autocrat than the teacher of the past, does well to express his opinions with proper reservations, if he does not

mean to put his pupils to the trouble of unlearning in the future, at some expense, much of what he teaches them.

It would seem to be on the ground of comparative vividness of impression that ghost-stories and superstitious legends used when prevalent to hold such a sway over the minds of children. When the imagination, as in the case of insanity, reaches a degree of intensity such as to give to its presentations a force fully equal or even superior to that of ordinary sensations, the illusive imagery becomes real to the subject of it; and on a similar principle, according to a theory set forth in a recent essay,\* the "dream-fancy," being itself in a high state of exaltation, and thus easily overcoming any slight corrective or resisting influence which the almost dormant senses may be able to exert, maintains for the time the full reality of its phantoms.

Again, the frequent recurrence in the same mind of a presentation tends to give it assurance. The man who used to tell a certain lion-story, and, noticing signs of incredulity in the listeners, added that the story was true, for he had "told it a thousand times," though speaking facetiously in his own case, hit truly a vein of human nature. It may be doubted whether the axioms of geometry do not, in the mind of the average student, gain much of their force from frequent repetition.

But now, if it be admitted that there is a possibility of illusion in those intuitive views and judgments which would seem to furnish the last test of truth that man in himself can appeal to, the question is important whether any security can be had against such illusion. The only prescription for the case which the writer can offer is to cultivate "truth in the inward parts," to put truth uppermost in thought and purpose, and to indulge no motives or practices evidently calculated to mislead judgment or distort perception. One who would enjoy radiant visions of truth must live worthily of the enjoyment he craves; sublime ideas are for him who lives sublimely. "The path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

GEO. N. ABBOTT.

\* See *Littell's Living Age*, No. 1695; "*The Laws of Dream-Fancy*," from *Cornhill Magazine*.

## ART. VI.—CONRAD WEISER.\*

## A NEGLECTED CHAPTER OF COLONIAL HISTORY.

BY FRANK. R. DIFFENDERFFER.

ON the 13th day of November, 1793, General George Washington, Gen. Joseph Hiester, and a number of other distinguished men, stood around a grassy mound in an obscure burying-ground near Womelsdorf, Pennsylvania. The Father of his country gave expression to the sentiment that filled those who were thinking of him whose bones were mouldering into kindred dust within that place of rest, when he said: "This departed man rendered many services to his country, in a difficult period, and posterity will not forget him." Of the same man, Richard Peters, Secretary of the Province of Pennsylvania, wrote in 1761: "Since 1744 he has acted a prominent part between the Indians and the Government, by whom his loss will be severely felt." The late Thomas H. Burrows, father of the Free School system of Pennsylvania, also speaks of him as follows: "On many occasions he was of the greatest service to the Province, by his influence with the Indians." On almost every page of the "Colonial Records" and "Pennsylvania Archives" may be found the history of his good services wrought in behalf of the Colony in her times of trouble.

Notwithstanding the prediction of General Washington, posterity has too long been neglectful of the name and services of this stout-hearted hero of our colonial era, which, like those of many other worthies, has slumbered quietly for more than a century, while the trump of fame was only too often filled with praise of carpet-knights and charlatans. The historian and annalist

\* The Life of (John) Conrad Weiser, the German Pioneer, Patriot and Patron of two races. By C. Z. Weiser, D. D. 1 vol., 12mo., pp. 449.

have of necessity at times been compelled to draw his name from its unmerited obscurity, but to the large majority of readers it carries with it nothing to distinguish it from those of his fellows of a century ago.

But if the name of CONRAD WEISER to-day falls with unmeaning sound upon the ears of many, there was a time when not a pioneer from the Hudson to the Ohio, from the Great Lakes to the Carolinas, but blessed it when he heard it, for to him more than to the bayonets of the mother country or the untrained militia of the central provinces, was it owing that the frontier settlers oft-times preserved their rude homes from the flames, their crops from destruction and their lives from the tomahawks of the savages. From the year 1732 until his death in 1760, a period of twenty-eight years, his life was almost one unceasing pilgrimage between the Provincial authorities and the numerous Indian tribes in the north, south and west. Through trackless forests, over mountains covered with snow, amid the parching heats of summer and the biting frosts of winter, sometimes on horseback, but oftener on foot, did this tireless Colonial Agent pursue his way on his missions of peace and reconciliation.

The all too brief notices scattered through the pages of local historians and the early annalists of Pennsylvania, have hitherto been all we had to draw on for information concerning this remarkable man—a man in some respects without a peer in the history of this country. A descendant of this worthy old hero, C. Z. Weiser, D. D., has at last stepped forward, and with loving and reverential hands drawn aside the curtain that so long hid the complete story of his life, and now gives to the public for the first time a full and authentic narrative of the long and checkered career of this exemplary citizen and worthy public servant.

Conrad Weiser, like many thousands of the persecuted Germans who sought peace, homes and prosperity on the shores of the New World, was born in the Palatinate of the Rhine. The history of his ancestry is so clearly and fully told in his auto-

biography, that we can do no better than transfer such of it to these pages as will serve to elucidate this as well as the more important other portions of his career. Fortunately for himself and his biographer, he was in the habit of making circumstantially minute notes of his manifold wanderings, which were at his leisure embodied in voluminous reports to the Colonial authorities. Most, if not all of these are still in existence, and have been incorporated in Dr. Weiser's book. A large mass of correspondence, nearly all of it concerning Indian affairs, is also given; it includes letters to Secretaries James Logan and Richard Peters, to Governors Hamilton, Morris and Denny, as well as others to less known parties; and last and most important, we have the story of his life as written by himself, without parade or ostentation, but in a plain and easy manner, which commends itself as much for its candor and undoubted truthfulness, as for its modesty, and which affords the historian ample means of forming a correct estimate of this man's life-work, and of placing it before the public in its true colors.

In tracing the family records in the Church register of Gross-Aspach, where his father was born and reared, none remain beyond the year 1693. In that year two hundred dwellings in that neighborhood were burnt to ashes by the French, and among them was the parsonage with the Church records. Beyond that period therefore his genealogy cannot be authentically traced: neither is it necessary; we have to do with Conrad Weiser himself, and care not to go beyond his father's hearthstone. Under the influences that encompassed him there, was moulded that energetic and self-reliant nature which in after life enabled him to triumph over so many opposing circumstances. He says:—"In the year 1696, on the 2d of November, I, Conrad Weiser, was born in Europe, in the land of Wuerttemberg, in the county (Amt) of Herrenburg, the village is called Astrael, and was christened at Kupingen, near by, as my father has informed me. My father's name was John Conrad Weiser, my mother's name was Anna Magdalena; her family name was Uebele. My grand-father was Jacob Weiser, my

great-grand-father also Jacob Weiser. He was magistrate (Schultheiss) in the village of Gross-Aspach, in the county (Amt) of Backnang, also in the land of Wuerttemberg. In this latter village my ancestors from time immemorial were born, and are buried there as well on my father's as my mother's side."

In the year 1709 his mother died. She was a pious, God-fearing mother in Israel, whose motto, as her sorrowing son tells us was, "Jesus Christ, I live for you, I die for you; Thine am I in life and death." The influence of such a mother could not but leave a deep impress upon the susceptible youth of thirteen years, and we cannot go wrong in ascribing the religious fervor which at various periods of his life so strongly manifested itself, to the early home teachings which the unobtrusive piety of his maternal parent instilled into her numerous family.

The death of his wife, and various other circumstances determined the elder Weiser (whose fortunes we will for a while follow), to join that mighty exodus from Germany, which in numbers and significance somewhat resembles the vast tribal migrations that characterized the Middle Ages in Europe. Good Queen Anne in England, and William Penn in Pennsylvania, held out inducements to such as cared to seek their fortunes in the wilds of America, that were irresistible to the dwellers in the Rhine provinces, whom short crops, religious persecutions and other causes had made anxious for a change. Along with thousands of others, he embarked with a portion of his family for England in 1709. Almost destitute upon their arrival in that country, they soon became entirely so, and were supported by the contributions of charitable citizens, and partly also by grants from Parliament. Sickness and suffering in their most aggravated forms decimated their ranks. Their sad condition attracted the commiseration of a deputation of five Mohawk Indian chiefs then on a visit to England. These, more merciful than their white brothers, tendered to those houseless and homeless wanderers, free lands in the virgin forests of America,



where they might again under the favoring smiles of a kind Providence rest in peace and plenty.

Those still living, who had not returned to the Fatherland, numbering about four thousand souls, were embarked on ten ships, and bore away towards the land of the setting sun. They sailed about Christmas time, and after a six months' voyage landed at New York. The horrors of that passage across the Atlantic in mid-winter no pen can adequately tell. Crowded into the incommodious ships of that day, with nearly every want insufficiently supplied, we need not wonder that seventeen hundred found ocean burial. The survivors were encamped in tents on what is now Governor's Island, in New York harbor. The elder Weiser was one of these unfortunates; unable to provide for the eight children who accompanied him, some of the younger ones were apportioned among the farmers of Long Island and New Jersey, who undertook their maintenance.

The Queen had directed lands to be set apart in the vicinity of Newburg for the Palatines, and patents for them made out. Before these latter arrived, or the pilgrims had reached their destination, the titles to these lands had been secured by Governor Robert Hunter of New York, and Robert Livingstone, and when therefore they did remove, it was not to lands of their own, but to those of these men who by this transaction have brought shame and dishonor upon their names. The wave-tossed emigrants found that instead of being the owners of broad and fruitful acres, as had been promised them, they would have to pay ground-rents to the designing owners, and in addition, the sum of \$33 per head for passage money. Task-masters were set over them, and the autobiography says:—"Here in Livingstone Manor, or, as it was called by the Governor *Læbenstein's* Manor, we were to burn tar and cultivate hemp to defray the expenses incurred in bringing us from Holland to England, and from England to America." The free lands and free passage were simply myths that vanished into thin air, but the fault was that of the Colonial officials, and not of the generous and noble-hearted Queen.

The elder Weiser was a leader among these colonists. His abilities secured him much influence, and when after a time they rebelled against the impositions of their self-appointed task-masters, he became the head and front of the movement. An effort to tear themselves from the thralldom that lay heavily upon them was resolved upon. John Conrad Weiser was the head of a deputation that was sent to re-open negotiations with the friendly Mohawks for a renewal of the offer they had made in England. The effort was successful; for the sum of \$300 the beautiful Schoharie Valley was placed at their disposal. Abandoning their homes and all the other improvements and comforts which four years of steady, honest toil had gathered around them, they shook the dust of Livingstone Manor from their feet, and in 1714 took their weary way still deeper into the wilderness. The younger Weiser describes this fresh exodus as follows:—"In the spring of 1714 my father removed from Schenectady, where he had procured winter quarters for his family, with a man of the first rank of the Maqua nation, with about one hundred and fifty families, in great poverty. One borrowed a horse here, another there; also a cow and some harness. With these things they joined together, until being supplied, though poorly. They broke ground enough to plant corn for their own use the next year. But this year our hunger was hardly enduring. Many of our feasts were of wild potatoes (*œhmanada*), and ground beans (*otagraquara*), which grew in abundance. We cut mallow and picked juniper berries. If we were in need of meal, we were obliged to travel from thirty-five to forty miles, and beg it on trust. One bushel was gotten here and another there, sometimes after an absence from one's starving family for two or three days. With sorrowful hearts and tearful eyes the morsel was looked for—and often did not come at all."

Under the favoring influences of comparative peace and quiet, of laborious toil and unceasing thrift, their new homes again began to present those pleasant features which in all times and all places have been marked characteristics of the Germanic races. But closely following this successful planting of a hardy

civilization in the wilderness, again came the merciless covetousness of Governor Hunter and his minions, and the harassed colonists again found themselves within their inexorable grasp. The purchase from the Indians was pronounced illegal; they could show no patent from the Queen; the Governor, it was alleged, had long before sold this fruitful valley to others; the alternative was presented to them of purchasing what was already theirs, or of a second time abandoning their pleasant homes and well tilled acres.

They would not yield without a struggle. Three delegates, among whom we again find the elder Weiser, were appointed to go to the mother country, and lay their grievances at the foot of the throne. In spite of their poverty a sum of money deemed adequate to meet the charges of this mission was contributed by the colonists. Evil fortune came upon them before they set sail: Pirates seized them in Delaware Bay, and robbed them of all their private funds: rather than yield up that belonging to the colony, Weiser was thrice severely beaten; the little sum was saved, and they at length found their way to Boston, where they embarked, arriving in London friendless and poor. Worst of all, they learned with feelings which may better be imagined than described, that their kind patroness, Queen Anne, was dead! The machinations of Governor Hunter still followed them; he denounced them as pestilent rebels, and at his instigation they were indicted and thrown into prison. They wrote home for help, but their letters were intercepted. These sorrowful tidings at length reached their friends in Schoharie Valley, who at great sacrifices sent them £70 to relieve their necessities. At last the truth became partially known; they were released, and their evil genius, Governor Hunter, recalled. His successor, Governor Burnet, was instructed to grant vacant lands to all the Germans who had been sent to New York by the deceased Queen. Delegate Weiser returned to his home after a four years' absence.

As early as 1723 a colony of about sixty families, lured by the favorable statements that were wafted northward from the

colony of Penn, left the settlements near Schoharie, and located at Tulpehocken, in Berks county, Pennsylvania. The elder Weiser was among these. He seems to have been always a participator in every movement that agitated the emigrants. The manuscript of his son describes this new search for a permanent abiding place: "The people got news of the land on the Swatara and Tulpehocken, in Pennsylvania. Many of them united and cut a road from Schoharie to the Susquehanna river, carried their goods there, and made canoes, and floated down the river to the mouth of the Swatara creek, and drove their cattle over land. From there they came to Tulpehocken, and this was the origin of Tulpehocken settlement. Others followed this party and settled there, at first also without the permission of the Proprietary of Pennsylvania or his Commissioners; also against the consent of the Indians, from whom the land had not yet been purchased. There was no one among the people to govern them; each one did as he pleased, and their obstinacy has stood in their way ever since."

Notwithstanding this not altogether flattering portrait, these men were of a class who possessed inherent qualities of many commendable kinds. Even though they may have become embittered against their oppressors, they were yet honest men and good citizens; and if they did not always take up lands in the regular way, it was doubtless more attributable to their poverty than anything else. Here it was, we believe, that the first German Reformed congregation in the United States was organized, and the first church built. They brought with them across the sea, the piety and reverence for religion which had for centuries characterized the sons and daughters of the Palatinate. Whittier has in his loftiest strain embalmed some of their more striking mental and moral characteristics:—

"And that bold-hearted yeomanry, honest and true,  
Who, haters of fraud, gave to labor its due.  
Whose fathers of old sang in concert with time,  
On the banks of Swatara the songs of the Rhine;  
The German-born pilgrims, who first dared to brave  
The scorn of the proud in the cause of the slave."

With this last migration to Tulpehocken, the sore trials of these persecuted Germans ceased. Other troubles they had, but they were different in their origin and character. To this haven of rest came the elder Weiser in 1746, and here amid several generations of his offspring he breathed his last at the age of eighty-six, and his unquiet spirit at last found rest. Is there a darker chapter in all our Colonial history, north or south, than this which has just been told? If there be, we know not where to look for it. Through the fire of these prolonged trials, sufferings and persecutions, they came forth stronger and better men, and when their descendants to-day point with mingled feelings of pride and pleasure at the influence and power of the German element in this country, they do not always pause and think how sorely their ancestors were tried in their day and generation, and yet how grandly they emerged from the furnace of their afflictions.

We return now after having so long followed the fortunes of the elder Weiser, to those of his son, whose life meanwhile had been one of much activity and usefulness, and who during the earlier part of these troublesome times was undergoing that preparatory training which in after life secured to him the distinction his career so well merits. In November, 1713, a chief of the Six Nations named Quagnant, paid Conrad's father a visit, and by whom he was well known. The frank and engaging qualities of the boy found favor in the eyes of the woodland chieftain, and at his departure as a return for the hospitality he had received, he requested the father's consent to carry the lad with him. The parent yielded to his importunities, and as the attractions of home were no longer what they once were, because the father had given his children a stepmother, the boy of fourteen years was also willing to leave the family fireside for the more stirring and adventurous life led by the sons of the forest.

The wild and untrammelled life led by the Indians of America has its poetical side, and in too readily accepting this view of it, we are apt to lose sight of its less ideal but more true and prac-

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tical phases. The boy Conrad ought to be good authority on this question, and we accordingly give him a hearing; these are his experiences: "I accompanied him (Quagnant), and reached the Maqua country in the latter end of November, and lived with the Indians; here I suffered much from the excessive cold, for I was but badly clothed, and towards spring also from hunger, for the Indians had nothing to eat. On account of the scarcity of provisions amongst them, corn was then sold for five and six shillings a bushel. The Indians were oftentimes so intoxicated, that for fear of being murdered, I secured myself among the bushes." There is but little in this quotation to suggest the "Deerslayer," or the "Last of the Mohicans." Our own experience has been fruitful of the same kind of evidence. The ideals set up by America's great novelist, do not to-day, and never did exist, save as creations of his exuberant imagination.

Young Weiser's stay among the savages was prolonged to a period of eight months, and he became during this time an adopted son of the Confederate Nations, a fact which in after years was productive of vast benefits. During this time he had acquired a knowledge of the greater part of the Maqua tongue. But this was not his only acquisition. In that hardy school was laid the foundation of his future life-work and usefulness. The hunger, cold and exposure he endured, the long journeys, chases and experiences in woodcraft that fell to his lot, were all so many accomplishments whereby he was enabled in after life to make long and weary marches through the dim woods and over mountain and moor, and which were possible only to true sons of the wilderness. He acquired, besides, that practical acquaintance with the inner life and modes of thought and springs of action which are characteristic of the Indian nature, and of which his own correct judgment was able to avail itself to the utmost, and through which he became the wisest, most acceptable and most efficient negotiator this country has ever had in its dealings with the aborigines.

Upon his return to the paternal home, his services as inter-

preter were at once called into requisition. Disputes between the German and English settlers and the natives, were only too frequent. "About one English mile from my father's dwelling (at Schoharie), resided a few families of the Maqua tribe; and oftentimes a number of that Nation passed to and fro on their hunting expeditions. It frequently happened that disputes arose between the high-mettled Germans and members of this tawny Nation. On such occasions I was immediately sent for to interpret for both parties. I had a good deal of business, and no pay. None of my people understood their language excepting myself, and by much practice I became perfect, considering my age and circumstances." This is the language of the autobiography, and in this way was the work of preparation unconsciously going on from day to day.

In 1714, owing to the same domestic troubles which sent him a willing exile into the wigwam of the Mohawk chief, he left his father's house never to return, and during the succeeding fifteen years resided at an Indian town near Schoharie. In 1720, while his father was absent on his European mission, he married. There is a vague tradition among his descendants that he espoused a dusky maiden of the forest, but the circumstances surrounding the case do not warrant this hypothesis. Neither by himself nor by any one else privy to the facts has such a revelation been made. Nothing of the kind was intimated in the proceedings of any of the numerous councils held with the Indians, where his tribal adoption and intimate relation to them was frequently adverted to, and where the still closer implied relationship would most certainly have at some time been brought to light, had it existed. In the absence of any authentic evidence to the contrary, we may safely assume his bride was a fair-haired Palatine maiden, and the tawny beauty of the forest only a myth.

In 1729, when thirty-three years of age, Conrad Weiser arrived at Tulpehocken. He took up land, as it was called, near the town of Womelsdorf, and began the life and occupation of a farmer, little thinking, no doubt, that his remaining



years would be mainly spent elsewhere than on the broad and fertile acres where he had erected what he believed would be his future home.

The Six Nations at this period had a native Indian as their agent and interpreter, through whom all negotiations with the Provincial Council were held. His name was Shekallamy, and he resided at Shamokin. Most probably Weiser had an acquaintance with this man, who seems to have been both honest and capable, prior to this time; at all events the former was induced to accompany him to Philadelphia, in 1731, in the capacity of volunteer interpreter; and there his merits and ability became so manifest that Governor Gordon was easily persuaded to grant the petition of the confederate tribes who were there, when, in the following year, they expressed themselves as "very desirous that there may be more frequent opportunities of conferring and discoursing with their brothers, and that these may be managed by means of Shekallamy and Conrad Weiser." A donation of £12 was also given him by the Council "for accompanying and being very careful of the Indians on their way from Tulpehocken, and for having been extensively useful in framing an initiatory treaty with them."

From this period dates his official appointment as Colonial Interpreter. The mildly aristocratic James Logan, the trusted secretary of William Penn for many years, and President of the Provincial Council, writes on October 12, 1736, "Conrad Weiser and Shekallamy were by the treaty of 1732 appointed fit and proper persons to go between the Six Nations and this Government, and to be employed in all transactions with one another; 'whose bodies,' the Indians say, were to be equally divided between them and us, we to have one half and they the other. They say 'they have always found Conrad faithful and honest. He is a good and true man, and has spoken their words and our words—not his own'; the Indians have presented him with a dressed skin to make him shoes, and two deer skins to keep him warm."

His services were, however, not entirely engrossed by Pennsylvania. The Governors of New York, Virginia and Maryland again and again employed him to undertake missions in behalf of their several provinces to distant tribes. During a long period no Indian Council of importance was held in these colonies in which he did not participate. At many of these old treaties were renewed or new ones made; land, too, was generally negotiated for, and to quite a number of these contracts the names of Dr. Franklin and Conrad Weiser are attached as Commissioners on the part of the provinces. The Indians at such times requested him to sign not only his proper name, but also with that given him by themselves—*Tarachawagon*.

The several tribes of the Six Nations occupying the country towards lakes Erie and Ontario, and ranging southward through Pennsylvania into Virginia, came into hostile collision with the Choctaws and Cherokees of the South. Virginia was the bloody ground where hostilities were principally carried on. Governor Gooch besought Pennsylvania to mediate between the antagonists. Weiser was requested to undertake the difficult task. In the mid-winter of 1737 he started on his five hundred miles' journey to Onondago, in New York. This was his first great undertaking, and in it he abundantly vindicated his claim as a skillful and successful negotiator. In 1743, Governor Thomas, of Pennsylvania, sent him to Shamokin on official business; hardly had he returned than the Governor of Virginia requested his services at the same place, and in June he was again under way to Onondago by request of the same authority, to deliver the good-will of the Council of Virginia, and to distribute a peace-offering of £100. In the following year he was again sent to Shamokin. In this year the Great Council was held at Lancaster, Pa., lasting more than a month. After a satisfactory treaty had been made, the delegate from Virginia addressed the Indians, and after stating that as their mutual friend, Conrad Weiser, was now old and likely soon to be gathered with his fathers, it seemed meet that steps should be

taken to provide a successor, and proposed that they should send some of their young men to be educated in the schools of Virginia, after which they might again return to their people. Canassatego delivered a characteristic reply: "We must let you know we love our children too well to send them so great a way. And the Indians are not inclined to give their children learning. We allow it to be good, and we thank you for your invitation. But our customs differing from yours, you will be so good as to excuse us. We hope *Tarachawagon* (Conrad Weiser) will be preserved by the Great Spirit to a good old age. When he is gone under ground, it will be time enough to look out for another. While he lives there is no room to complain." In this same year he was also sent to Onondago on a visit of condolence, an eminent chieftain having died. The road to this famous treaty place must by this time have become familiar.

The year 1745 finds him as busy as ever. In January he was sent to Shamokin to build a house for his friend Shekallamy. In May he is again on the way to Onondago to use his influence in counteracting the machinations of the French in Canada, and in October he is again in New York. In 1747, John Penn, the Proprietary, died, and Weiser was sent with the sad news to Shamokin. Later in the same year he is again sent thither, where he finds his friend Shekallamy so ill of a fever as to be hardly able to stretch forth his hand in welcome; several members of his family were already dead and all the rest ill. His report shows the qualities of his heart: "I must in conclusion recommend as an object of charity, Shekallamy. He is extremely poor. In his sickness the horses have eaten all the corn. His clothes he gave to the Indian doctors to cure him and his family. He has nobody to hunt for him, and I cannot see how the poor old man can live. He has been a true servant to the Government, and may still be if he lives to get well again. As the winter is coming on, I think it would not be amiss to send him a few blankets and match coats, and a little powder and lead. If the Government would be pleased

to do it, I would send my sons with it to Shamokin before the cold weather comes." The principles of the elder Penn towards the natives still guided the policy of the Colony, and good Conrad Weiser's prayer for aid in behalf of his sorely-stricken friend was heeded; £16 were donated, and these the sons promptly delivered to the grateful Indian.

In 1748 the united Provinces decided to send presents to the Indians on the Ohio, whose attitude was threatening and alarming. Weiser would fain have excused himself from attempting the mission, but was at last persuaded to do so, and successfully accomplished it. The year 1750 finds him in the interior of the Province among the Indians, negotiating and settling difficulties, and in the same year he is again at Onondago, by request of Governor Lee, of Virginia, on the same peaceful errand. In 1751 it was again contemplated to send him to Ohio, but his own opinion was that his presence at Albany was of greater importance, and to that place he accordingly went. Impending war in 1752 actuated Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, to request his good offices in behalf of that colony at Albany. By August he had returned, and in September we find him exerting himself in the cause of peace at Carlisle. In 1754 the war with France began. We find Weiser at Shamokin in April, and in June he accompanied Dr. Franklin to Albany. To give in detail an account of his many missions would be to write a book. Old age draws on apace and the end is reached at last. From the minutes of a conference held at Easton in August, 1761, we copy this: "Seneca George stood up and spoke as follows—'We of the Seven Nations and our cousins are at a great loss and sit in darkness, as well as you, by the death of Conrad Weiser, as since his death we cannot so well understand one another. By this belt we cover his body with bark.' Governor Hamilton made reply as follows: 'Brethren, we are very sensible, with you, that both of us have sustained a very heavy loss by the death of our old and good friend, Conrad Weiser, who was an able, experienced and faithful Interpreter, and one of the

Council of the Seven Nations; and that since his death we, as well as you, have sat in darkness, and are at a great loss for want of well understanding what we say to one another. We mourn with you for his death, and heartily join in covering his body with bark.' " Such were his services as Interpreter and Indian Agent covering a period, from first to last, of more than forty years.

In addition to the duties imposed on him by this responsible position, he had as early as 1741 been commissioned a Justice of the Peace; and when the war broke out between England and France, Governor Morris sent him a colonel's commission. If the former office was no sinecure, the latter was far from being one of compliment only. His experience and energy gave assurance he would prove no holiday colonel. He was placed in command of a regiment of volunteers, and had command over the second battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, consisting of nine companies. By his directions a number of forts and block-houses were erected on the frontiers of Lancaster and Berks counties.

Even the horrors of Indian warfare could not crush out the true humanity in him. When the Indian allies proposed that the Colonies should offer bounties for scalps, Weiser frowned down the proposition: "It is my humble opinion that no encouragement should be given to the Indians for scalps, for fear we must then pay for our own scalps and those of our fellow-subjects, as will certainly be the case. Allow as much for prisoners as you please—rather more was intended."

Of the cursed and debasing liquor traffic he was ever a steady and determined opponent. In a letter to Secretary Peters, dated at Paxton, (Harrisburg), in 1747, he breaks out against it in these words: "And if rightly considered, death, without judge or jury, to any man that carries rum to sell to any Indian town, is the only remedy to prevent that trade, and a just reward to the trade, for nothing else will do. It is an abomination before God and man, to say nothing of the particular consequences; it is altogether hurtful to the public, for

what little supplies we can give them to carry on the war are not half sufficient. They must buy the greatest part with their hunting, and if they meet with rum, they will buy that before anything, and not only drink away their skins, but their clothing and everything they may get of us. In short, the inconveniences occasioned by that trade are numerous at this very time."

To his nice sense of right and ideas of equal and exact justice, the central Provinces were largely indebted for their comparative freedom from the dread barbarities of Indian warfare. Although employed by and laboring in the interests of the whites, he never forgot the red men also had rights to be respected, and his official correspondence is filled with suggestions and advice how their irritated feelings might best be soothed, and how a few presents, judiciously bestowed, might ward off impending strife. His own words best express his sentiments, and they are these: "The Indians must have satisfaction made for private injuries. If we deal with them according to our public treaties, and show we are what we pretend to be, that is to say, their friends, people of honor and honesty, the Council and Assembly will find a remedy. I own it will be a difficult matter to come to the truth in private quarrels between the white and the brown people, for the former will out-swear the very devil, and the latter's oath is not good in our laws. If all comes to all, rather than the poor Indians should be wronged, the public ought to make satisfaction if no remedy can be found to prevent it." That is anything else than the language of a partisan. His fidelity to the colonists was never questioned, while the Indians well knew their race never had a truer friend.

In 1742 we find him, at the earnest request of the celebrated Count Zinzendorf, accompanying that nobleman to Bethlehem and Shamokin, interpreting the words of Truth and Love as they fell from the lips of that true-hearted man, and telling the benighted heathen, "This is the man whom God has sent, both to the Indians and the white people, to make known His

will to them." His nature seems to have been sincerely devout. This missionary enterprise seems to have thoroughly aroused his religious susceptibilities, and he pours forth his feelings in a letter, creditable alike to his heart and his head: "I was sorry," he exclaims, "not to have seen you at Shamokin, owing to your indisposition. But the pleasure I felt during my abode there left a deep impression upon me. The faith of the Indians in our Lord Jesus Christ, their simplicity and unaffected deportment, their experience of the grace procured for us by the sufferings of Jesus, preached to them by the brethren, has impressed my mind with a firm belief that God is with you. The old men sat partly upon benches and partly upon the ground, for want of room, with great gravity and devotion, their eyes steadfastly fixed upon their teacher, as if they would eat his words. John was the interpreter and acquitted himself in the best manner. I esteem him as a man anointed with grace and spirit. Though I am not well acquainted with the Matikander language, yet their peculiar manner of delivery renders their ideas intelligible to me as any European in this country. In short, I deem it one of the greatest favors bestowed upon me in this life that I have been at Shamokin. The text of Scripture, 'Jesus Christ the same yesterday and to-day and forever,' appeared to me as an eternal truth, when I beheld the venerable patriarchs of the American Church sitting around me, as living witnesses of the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of His atoning sacrifice. Their prayers are had in remembrance in the sight of God; and may God fight against their enemies. May the Almighty God give to you and your assistants an open door to the hearts of all the heathen!"

How much part he took in this Moravian missionary enterprise there are no means to determine. In 1743 he was engaged for a considerable period at Tulpehocken in instructing three Moravians, Zander, Bueltner and Pylacus, in the Mohawk language, in order to qualify them to preach the Word among the various Iroquois tribes.



The well-known pious and learned Lutheran clergyman, Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg, who married Anna Maria, Conrad Weiser's eldest daughter, has placed on record a plan which his father-in-law believed would prove the most effectual method of reclaiming the Indians from darkness to light; the experience of a century has suggested nothing superior to it. We give it in Pastor Muhlenberg's words:

"I. Several Missionaries should take up their abode in the midst of the Indians, and strive to make themselves thorough masters of their language, conform as far as possible to their costumes, manners and customs, yet reprove their natural vices by a holy, meek and virtuous deportment.

"II. Translate Revealed Truth into their own language, and present the whole as intelligibly as possible.

"III. The Missionaries should study the Indian tunes and melodies, and convey to them the law and the Gospel in such tunes and melodies, in order to make an abiding impression, and thereby, under the blessing and increase of God, patiently wait for the fruits of their labors."

The religious temperament of Conrad Weiser was such as led him into some very remarkable exhibitions of religious frenzy at various periods of his career. He came from Lutheran ancestry, and was, therefore, as his biographer tells us, a Lutheran *von Haus aus*. He describes himself as being "so much attached to my Bible that I looked upon it as my comfort, and it became my book of delight." This was written in his fifteenth year. He was fond of Scriptural quotations, and his manuscript record abounds in these manifestations of religious fervor. There seems to have been no erratic demonstration of religious enthusiasm until he had reached the mature age of thirty-nine years. The well-known Conrad Beisel, the founder of the German Seventh-Day Baptists, came among the German Churches, and succeeded in instituting what at the present day would be called "a revival." John Peter Miller, an eminent scholar, and famous in after times as the head man of the monkish establishment at Ephrata,

was the Reformed preacher at Tulpehocken at the period of this spiritual awakening. He as well as his congregation, and the Lutheran portion of the settlers, were all carried along with the new movement. The hitherto even tenor of their lives now gave way to the most fanatical radicalism. It seems almost incredible that these undoubtedly pious men should have been so carried away by their newly acquired experience. They not only gave up all to which they had previously held, but went even further: on a certain day they assembled at the house of one of their number, and having made a collection of the Heidelberg Catechism, Luther's Catechism, the Psalter and others of their previously most cherished books of devotion, set them on fire and burnt them to ashes. Considered in relation to all its surroundings, this *auto da fe* stands solitary and alone among the inexplicable vagaries that have at times marked the struggles of a newly awakened outburst of religion. Conrad Weiser adopted no half-way measures in his undertakings. As if fearful of his danger to relapse, he pursued a course of life that reminds us of the ascetic bishops, fathers and elders of the early Church. He gave up a portion of his possessions, allowed his beard to grow until he became almost unrecognizable and did such severe bodily penance as to become extremely emaciated. All was of no avail; he fell away from the course he had so enthusiastically adopted, and was hardly able himself to tell where his religious views centered. A contemporary has alluded to him after this experience in this wise: "*Der ist, wie die gemeine Sage ist, ein 'Justice': Und es ist noch nicht bekannt worden, dass er, seit der Zeit, durch Buse weidergekehret und sich wiederum zu seiner vorhin gebabten Lutherischen Religion verfueget.*" Although it was after this departure from the faith of his fathers that the mission with Count Zinzendorf was undertaken, and notwithstanding his frequent ebullitions of religious enthusiasm, he seems never after to have been the same man in a spiritual sense he previously had been. So much may be gleaned from the record left by his eminent son-

in-law, the patriot pastor Muhlenberg. While there may be much in his spiritual waverings and sincere searches after the Truth, to regret, still, when we come to regard the man in his completeness, we cannot bring ourselves to condemn. There was a sincerity and an honesty in all his life-work that disarms a harsh judgment. That he was at all times guided by pure motives in his outreachings after Light, we cannot but believe, and thus believing, we must fain speak in all charity, even while we disapprove.

Strangely enough, although the baptismal register names him *John* Conrad Weiser, he never during his life made use of the first of his given names; he everywhere calls himself Conrad Weiser, and was known as such in all official documents. It is most probable that he himself was not aware of his full name, which only recent inquiry has brought to light.

In the list of those almost forgotten worthies, whose names are to be found only in the musty records of our Colonial era, there is none which has come down to us, bringing with it a purer and more unsullied record, or one shining less with borrowed light than that of Conrad Weiser. No fiction is required to set off or embellish the plain and sober facts of a true and healthful life. While his own journals and letters everywhere show him to have put a very modest estimate on the share he took in the Colonial affairs, the united testimony of his contemporaries and of official documents put his merits and services in no doubtful light.

It is not too much to say that after William Penn himself, no other man or set of men did as much as Conrad Weiser to preserve peace and friendly relations with the Indians of this and the adjoining Provinces. But for him and his good offices in many a trying hour, the red hand of war had often torn down the white banner of peace.

One by one the witnesses in the cause of the Germanic element in this country, to a full and unquestioned recognition of its place in History, come on the stand, and at the bar of public opinion produce the evidence they possess. In giving us this

life of Conrad Weiser, the author has added another link, and a strong one, to the chain of testimony the German-Americans are slowly but surely forging.

"A truer son or braver,"

never owed allegiance to Pennsylvania, and it seems but an act of simple justice, that a more worthy memento than the plain stone that now marks the spot, should rise above the grave of Conrad Weiser.

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#### ART. VII.—THE PERMANENCE OF OLD TESTAMENT REVELATION.

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To Schleiermacher, unquestionably, great credit is due for laboring to bring out in theological science the substantial nature of divine revelation, especially Christianity, over against the supra-naturalism of the seventeenth century. The real error of the scholastic period of Protestant theology lay not so much perhaps in unduly elevating the Scriptures so as to make them identical with divine revelation itself, as in their elevating mere *doctrines* of Christianity into this character. This latter error crept into the Protestant church in its early development. It soon turned the principle of justification by faith itself into a mere doctrine, and it has wrought with much power for evil in the whole history of Protestant Denominationalism. The Christological principle, as brought out by Schleiermacher, according to which the person of Christ is regarded as the substance of Christianity and of all divine revelation, has undoubtedly accomplished much in counteracting this error. It has made the controversy and battle of Christianity with unbelief to centre, not around the Scriptures, but the person of Christ. Since the attacks of Strauss and Bauer, the richest apologetical literature has been of a Christological character. This is evident not only in the life of Christ as brought out directly by leading German

and English theologians, but also by the new interest given to the subject of the incarnation, of the Church and the sacraments, and also the moulding power of the Christological principle in dogmatic theology. Although the error of substituting belief in doctrines in the place of faith in Christ still prevails to an alarming extent, yet it is receiving a corrective influence in the view that Christianity essentially is not doctrine but life. Orthodoxy is not so much as formerly considered the sum and substance of Christian faith, and the want of it alone, as measured by theological formulas and doctrinal confessions, a sufficient condemnation of a man's faith and life.

But now the question arises, whether this healthful reaction against orthodox confessionalism, in the interest we may say of the genuine material principle of the Reformation, does not call for a new apprehension of the formal principle, in regard to the nature of the Holy Scriptures as related to the person and work of Christ. These two, Christ and His Word, are so related in the order of divine revelation and the work of redemption that the one requires the other. They are not indeed identical. This has been realized in the attacks made against Christianity. When the assault has been made against the Holy Scriptures as the inspired Word of God, by such men as Strauss and Bauer, it became evident that, in order to be successful, the attack must reach Christ Himself as a character in history; and when some theory of the life of Christ has been devised in order to divest Him of His divine character, it still remains to set aside the sacred Scriptures. And so the defence of Christianity, or its right apprehension we may say, must regard both Christ and His Word. They are not indeed identical, but they are in a certain sense coördinate. The significance of the sacred Scriptures, as the Word of God, is by no means exhausted when they are regarded as a historical testimony of a revelation beyond themselves, or even as setting forth a directory for right doctrines to be intellectually apprehended, and precepts for the right ordering of the life in a moral point of view. In that view the substantial revelation may still be regarded as holding in Christ apart from the Scriptures. This error is just as dan-

gerous as it would be to regard the Bible as containing a sufficient revelation apart from any continuous presence and power of Christ. The two are so related that they are one in a very profound sense. Christ is both the truth and the witness of the truth. The personal Word and the written Word are one revelation of God, of permanent meaning and virtue.

And this holds true in the whole Word of God in the Old Testament and the New, and in the Old Testament *no less* than the New. There has been a tendency at times, especially in more recent times, to make a distinction between these two portions of Scripture to the disparagement of the Old Testament. This tendency has arisen partly as a reaction from the view which made no account of the historical element in the Bible and a somewhat mechanical and external view of inspiration, and partly under the pressure of scientific attacks on the Old Testament. The reader will recall the excitement raised years ago in the case of Bishop Colenso. It has been thought that there is greater difficulty in maintaining the inspiration of the whole Old Testament than that of the New. The Biblical apologist has been hard pressed by the objections of science. The question then has been raised whether the New Testament at least cannot stand on its own foundation without the Old, and perhaps in the course of time the question will be agitated, whether the Christian religion cannot stand with the acceptance of Christ without being committed to the full inspiration of any written Word. Let Christ be acknowledged as its founder, but let the written Word be accepted as any other writing, and received so far as it can maintain itself without claiming for it direct inspiration. This, of course, would be a fatal surrender of the supernatural character of Christianity, and it will be opposed as strenuously as would an attack on the divine character of Christ Himself.

But the opposition to the inspiration of the Old Testament only is more specious and more dangerous. It is claimed that this would not necessarily affect the validity of the claims of Christianity, as the New Testament contains, it is said, all the permanent elements of revelation. The Old Testament Dispen-

sation, it is argued, was only a preparation for the New, and since the New has come the Old is no longer essential or necessary. Some passages of the New Testament itself are adduced in support of this view, which speak of Christianity as the fulfillment of the prophecies and types of the Old Testament, as for instance the epistle to the Hebrews. This position has been taken with a great deal of earnestness and ability by Rev. Augustus Blauvelt in some articles published in *Scribner's Monthly*, and which have brought down on him no little opposition, if not persecution. We believe Mr. Blauvelt is earnest and sincere, and that he sees more clearly the dangers that beset the faith of the Church in reference to the Bible than some who have denounced him. So far as the view of the Bible by many of its apologists is concerned, and also the nature of their defence of it, there is much force in what Mr. Blauvelt urges. The apology now so popular, that the defence of the Old Testament Scriptures can successfully be made on the plane of natural reason and science, has in it, we believe, very little permanent value. If the Bible must authenticate itself to the demands of science, that is to establish and maintain itself on the basis of reason, its highest claims are surrendered, and in the end it would have to yield. Not that we undervalue the effort to find an agreement between science and revelation. That is right in its place, but the claim of the Bible as the inspired Word of God does not depend on the ability to prove this agreement to the natural reason of man. Its claim is above and independent of science, and its power to authenticate itself and stand rests upon an entirely different foundation. We hear it sometimes said that if the Bible contradicts a clearly established truth of science, its inspiration must be yielded, as though truth in the order of nature and reason were something more real and substantial than truth in the order of supernatural revelation. God cannot, indeed, contradict Himself, and faith cannot rest in contradictions, but reason and science cannot be allowed to be the umpire in deciding this question, else we land at once in pure rationalism. But this is a digression, and however inter-



esting the point with which it is concerned, we cannot pursue it further now.

Our object in this paper is to speak of the permanence of Old Testament revelation, and through this to show that its inspiration is just as necessary as that of the New Testament. If we can throw out any hints, looking towards a placing of the question on higher ground than that occupied by many who advocate the inspiration of the Old Testament, so as to carry with them conviction, it is all we can expect in the limits of this article. Perhaps our object will be reached if we can merely state and explain what we mean by the permanence of O. T. Revelation.

The Old Testament is *more* than a *record* simply of a dispensation of divine revelation that has passed away. It does unquestionably contain such a record. It is in one view a history, and as commonly believed an inspired history. It narrates the creation of the world, the flood, the calling of Abraham, and through him, of the Jewish people in whose line the Messiah was to come, the establishment of the Mosaic Economy, as it is called, the deliverance of the Children of Israel from Egypt and their settlement in Canaan, in short, all the important events in the history of revelation from the creation to the coming of Christ. This record includes a history of the spiritual life and piety of those to whom the revelation was made, reaching to the manifold workings of this life in their religious experience, the divine agency manifest at every stage, the words uttered by God, directly and through His servants the prophets and teachers, and the order of religious worship appointed observed in the Tabernacle and the Temple. But if it were merely such a record of history now past and gone, it would have no direct and essential office and power for the Christian life now. Its value might be permanent in the way of edification in the sphere of our religious life, just as the study of secular history is valuable for the education and growth of our natural intellectual life. But in that view it would not be essential to our religious life. It would be related to us not directly as a revelation from God to us, but rather indirectly,

just as history in general is related to the world's life at present. A knowledge of such history is valuable for the purpose of culture, we know, but it is not essential to the actual life of men in this generation. There are thousands of men who live and perform their part in the history of the present, who are ignorant of the history of the world's active, busy, drama that has been enacted in the ages that have passed away. It would stand related to us much in the same way as the record of the history of the Primitive Church, or of the Mediæval Age, except that its correctness is ensured by inspiration.

So also the Old Testament is *more* than a *preparation* simply for the revelation contained in the New. It is unquestionably such preparation. From the promise made to our first parents that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, down through all the ages and generations of its history everything pointed to that great central event in revelation, the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. Without the Christ idea on every page it would be as the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out. In this view the whole Old Testament may be said to be Messianic. Not only in particular portions, as in certain types and symbols, and in certain psalms and prophecies, but in its whole constitution and order it points to the coming of the Messiah. And if this idea moulds its inner constitution and life, it must be evident that all its parts have meaning only as interpreted in the light of this idea. Portions which in themselves might seem to have no special reference to Christ yet when taken in their relation to the whole carry in them this meaning. They are all intoned by one idea.

But all this may be granted (and to understand it is of the highest importance in the interpretation of that portion of the holy Scripture), and yet the Old Testament may be regarded as *only* a preparation for Christianity. Though valuable, therefore, as something preparatory to the New Testament, its value may be viewed somewhat like that of the scaffolding to the building, which serves no further purpose whence the building is completed, and which may then be cast away.

The revelation in the Old Testament is more than merely

such a record or history of a revelation in the past, and it is more than a preparation merely for the New Testament revelation. As the Word of God it contains a substantial revelation which is of permanent significance. In this respect it stands fully on a par with the revelation in the New Testament. The New contains, indeed, more in one sense than the Old. There is here a fulfillment, in the sense of bringing fully into the sphere of our life what is contained in Word in the Old, especially in the central fact of all revelation, the Incarnation of our Lord. But the difference here is rather that between different portions of one revelation which is of equally permanent significance in all its parts.

It is only necessary to read carefully the testimony borne in the New Testament itself concerning the Old in order to see this. Take, for instance, our Lord's testimony concerning the law of God contained in the Old Testament. He does not profess to give the law for the first time now, but to announce its inner spiritual meaning. He came not to destroy, but to fulfill the law. That law, given once for all on Mt. Sinai, is a substantial revelation of the divine will as constituting and establishing the order of the moral universe, just as the laws in the natural creation constitute its fundamental character and order; and as the natural creation is upheld and supported continually by the spiritual world, without which it has no reality, we may say that the law of God given on Mt. Sinai is the revelation of the order and constitution of the whole universe of God in its deepest sense and meaning. It is a revelation indeed, in Word, but that word is a divine Word, and therefore it partakes of the nature of God Himself. It is a word of infinite meaning and power. Over against the presence of sin—moral disorder—in the universe, it asserts the eternal principles of right, of justice, and truth.

Now that law is one of the elements of the Old Testament revelation. Our Lord did not profess to give another. He Himself accepted and came under this law as an abiding revelation, which is to stand when heaven and earth shall pass away. In one sense He is also the author of the law. Hence He speaks

in expounding it with authority not derived from man, "I say unto you." But in becoming man He came under the law, and the great work of His life consisted in enthroning this law in the sphere of our humanity. Thus He battled against sin and established the law in living form and power in the sphere of created will, in the principle of love.

The law, therefore, instead of coming to an end or passing away by its fulfillment in Christ, is rather permanently established and habilitated, so to speak, in the order of our human life. We hear a good deal said of the temporary office of the law in Old Testament revelation, and by a gross misinterpretation of what was written in regard to it in portions of the New Testament, as in Romans and Galatians, some really receive the notion that the law given from Mt. Sinai was only of temporary force and authority. But the apostle is there speaking, not of the abiding authority and force of the law, but of its power to bring salvation. Man was not in a condition in his fallen state to keep the law. The ability to do that must come from the revelation of grace in Jesus Christ in man's regeneration. The promise of this regeneration to be wrought out in Jesus Christ first of all in His own person, was made before the giving of the law on Mt. Sinai, and therefore the Jews blindly erred when they forsook the promise and attempted to be their own saviours by their miserable Pharisaic observance of an external semblance of the law. The law could not give them the power to obey it. It only proclaimed their sin and death.

But it would be a fatal error to infer from this that salvation can be found in any other way than in keeping the law. The ability to render such obedience, indeed, must come from Christ, and in this sense salvation is not of the law. But the substance of the life of salvation is after all *in the law*. That is salvation, to be placed in inward harmony with the law of God in the spirit of divine love. The end of Christ's coming into the world, His mission and work, is just this: to conquer the power of sin, to enthrone the law of God in the human will, first in His own person, and then to introduce it by regeneration into the life of believers, as the very substance of their

moral being. Here the law and the Gospel are in their deepest substance one. When man comes to be in harmony with the divine law in the spirit of love he is saved, that is his salvation, that is heaven.

We can now see that as the Christ idea is central in the Old Testament, pointing to Him in whom the law was to be fulfilled, and through whom its obedience was to be rendered possible for men, so the law, when the subject is rightly understood, pertains to the inner substance of Old Testament revelation, which is then not of temporary but permanent significance and force. As such the law was honored with the chief place in the tabernacle. It was sacredly deposited in the ark of the covenant,—yea, it was itself, we may say, the covenant, the ultimate meeting-place between God and man. In the harmony of man's spiritual life with the law of God, God and man come together. Hence it was covered by the Mercy Seat, as the promise that in Christ he would be regenerated and receive grace to render loving obedience to all its precepts. And over the Mercy Seat were the cherubim, between which hovered the glorious Shekinah, the light of the divine presence, showing that the light of God's presence, of His countenance, can only be revealed where His holy law is kept, symbolically in the Ark of the Covenant, and actually in the person of our Lord first, and then in the hearts and lives of His people.

Now we ask, is that revelation of the law on Mt. Sinai, with all its significant surroundings, and its preservation in the Ark of the Covenant, with equally significant surroundings, passed away? Does it not stand there as a permanent revelation in the divine Word, with as much meaning and force for us to-day as it had for the Israelites thousands of years ago? But, it may be answered, all this, as a symbolical representation, has been superseded in its fulfilment in Christ. He is the Mercy Seat, He is the Shekinah, and in Him the law has been fulfilled. And what then? Are these then passed away because they are fulfilled? Nay, rather they continue to abide forever, just for this reason. "Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid: yea, we establish the law."

The inner meaning and substance of this revelation abide, it will be answered again, but these we have now, in Christ, and therefore the form of the revelation in the Old Testament here referred to has passed away. But the relation here is not as between form and substance, as though we had only the form or symbol in the Old Testament, and the substance in the New. The relation is rather that between the written Word and the personal Word, or that between two different stages of one revelation. The Old Testament has substance as well as form, and the New Testament has form also as well as substance. Certainly the law given from Mt. Sinai and kept in the sacred Ark was not mere form. It was the very substance of divine revelation in the Word of God, which is then one with that same Word in the person of our Lord. The one is not superseded by the other. The relation is the same as that universally between the written Word and the personal Word. To say that the written Word is superseded in Christ, or that it has lost aught of its power, would in the end render the written word of the New Testament also a mere empty form and of no effect, because Christ is in His person also all that it is in word.

But now if the revelation of the law itself in the Old Testament is of permanent meaning and force, as the Word of God, then all that stands organically joined with this is of like character. The preparation for the giving of the law, the thunder and lightning and sound of a trumpet, the Ark and the Mercy Seat, the cherubim and the Shekinah,—all these are still the uttered Word of divine revelation as really as the law within the Ark, each having its own particular meaning, and that meaning is for us now as really as it was for the Jews,—nay, rather more for us, seeing that its inner spiritual sense is now apprehended as it was not by them.

We have thus taken the giving of the law as an example of the abiding significance of Old Testament revelation. From this point we might follow, or refer to, the ramifications of this central element of Old Testament revelation throughout its different books, as it meets us, for instance, in the Psalms, where the delight of David in meditating on this law is spoken of. It

would be found that the law is as a light beaming from almost every page in one way or another.

We might take other examples, *the flood*, as the judgment of God on a guilty world and the saving of Noah, the *deliverance* of the Children of Israel out of Egypt, etc. Each one would be found to be, not something of transient, but of permanent import, and organically related to the whole. Again, we might take up other elements of Old Testament revelation, as the imprecatory psalms, where it is supposed especially we have a spirit and a language that have been superseded by the spirit and words of the New Testament. It could be shown that this element in Old Testament revelation is of permanent force. But the narrow limits allowed for this article will not permit us to tarry longer in referring to examples. Nor indeed have we space to go on now and show in what way more particularly the Old Testament revelation has permanent significance and meaning for us now just as really as for the Jews. The general truth itself is indeed acknowledged in the use made of Old Testament scripture in the Church, but the full force of it is far from being accepted and realized.

That the glorification of Christ takes place in *His Word*, as well as in His person, that the one is co-ordinate with the other, that this glorification of Christ shines forth for faith in the Word of God as the special realm of the divine presence, corresponding to His presence in Christ, and that in this view there is an unfathomable inner spiritual sense of holy Scripture to be brought to life through the Holy Spirit, the mere surface of which has scarcely been penetrated, so that those who have penetrated most deeply are indeed as yet but like children picking up pebbles on the shore of a boundless infinite ocean of truth and glory, and that this is true of the Word of God in the Old no less than in the New Testament Scriptures,—this we are compelled now for want of space to speak of in another article, should we return to the subject which we have here scarcely introduced.

T. G. A.



## Recent Publications.

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CHRIST, THE TEACHER OF MEN. By A. W. Pitzer. Author of "Ecce Deus-Homo." Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1877.

We welcome this little volume written by a friend whose acquaintance we made a little over a year ago by the sea-shore. The author, Dr. Pitzer, is a minister in the Presbyterian Church (South), and is pastor of a congregation in Washington, D. C. He is a careful student and a vigorous thinker. His former work on *Ecce Deus-Homo* was favorably received, and the present contribution to theological science seems to be equally fresh and instructive. The fact that both works have Christ for their subject shows that their author realizes what is the central subject for Christian apologetics in this age. The present work treats of Christ in His character as the Teacher of men. Starting out very properly with a chapter on the Spirit of the Learner, he shows that there must be a preparedness on the part of men in order to apprehend the divine teaching of our Lord. The Saviour Himself insists on this—that men must be of the truth in order to hear His words. He regards Christ as the truth and the revealer of truth, and very properly distinguishes between the *facts* of revelation and the *doctrines* of the same, and also the duties enjoined. Christ is the subject of the whole Bible, the Old as well as the New Testament, and as He is the subject of which they treat, so He is at the same time the Author of the revelation they contain. He is responsible for the whole record of the Old Testament as well as the New, and therefore these two must stand or fall together. So also, He is the Author of the Law as well as the Gospel, and therefore these two cannot be separated or arrayed, the one against the other.

Yet while we have been refreshed in reading this work, and experienced its intellectual strength and spiritual power, there are a few points which do not satisfy us. The author is in possession, we believe, of the right principle in his theological thinking, which is Christ Himself. The true authentication of His teaching must come from His living person. Yet there are points here and there where it seems to us this principle is not entirely adhered to. For instance, in the chapter on the Credentials of Christ, the best portion of which is the section, Christ Himself His own Credential, he says very forcibly: "If the question were raised, 'Is there a sun, and what is its character?' the best answer would be obtained from a consideration of the sun itself; so Jesus Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, shining with full-orbed splendor in the spiritual firmament furnishes in Himself the best answer to the question, 'What think ye of Christ, and whose Son is He?' As no proof beside the light is necessary to show that the sun shines; so we find that Jesus proves Himself by His own self-evidence. 'I am the light of men.'"

This is well said. Of course it is implied that Christ thus authenticates Himself, not to the natural mind, but to spiritual apprehension, to those who open their minds and hearts to the light that shines forth from His

person. That means, as we take it, that Christ cannot be authenticated by evidence outside of Himself, in the way of mere natural proof or evidence brought to bear on the natural understanding.

But now, in treating elsewhere (page 179) of the credential furnished by the Father, especially in raising Him from the dead, the author uses this language: "The question whether or not Jesus was raised from the dead is one of *simple fact*. If Jesus did rise from the dead, then it is a fact, an event, a phenomenon in the physical world, in the sphere of the visible, the tangible, the material; and as such it can be authenticated in no other way than by the evidence presented to the senses; precisely as any physical phenomenon, any fact, any event is authenticated. Did men see Him with their eyes, hear Him with their ears, handle Him with their hands, and did they upon this testimony of their senses know Him as the same Jesus? Upon this point, the testimony of the eye and ear witnesses to the fact alleged is abundant, clear, competent, and credible."

We make the criticism here that the fact of the resurrection is a supernatural fact, and not "a phenomenon in the physical world, in the sphere of the visible, the tangible, the material." Of course we do not suppose that the author means that it is *merely* a phenomenon in the physical world; he would allow that it is a fact above the order of nature, and in the supernatural world. He means, perhaps, that while it is all this, yet it reaches into the visible and natural also, and on this side could be attested by the senses. But in any case his language, it seems to us, is too strong, and is liable to be misunderstood. The resurrection was not a mere return to life of one that had been dead, such for instance as the raising of Lazarus; but it was a passing out of the world of time and space into the heavenly state, a transfiguration, a glorification. The resurgent body was a spiritual body, not ordinarily, but only at times, visible. Therefore the fact of the resurrection was not a merely natural fact, but a mystery which can be apprehended only by faith. You might prove the fact that the Saviour, after having been put to death, became alive, but that is not the mystery of the resurrection. And its proof to the natural mind through the senses would be of no value in begetting faith in Him. Hence our Lord did not attempt such proof to the Jews. He did not appear to them, but only to believers. Unbelievers could not see Him, or if they could have seen Him, it would have been to them only as the appearance of a ghost, a mere wonder, and would have produced no conviction.

Therefore we have always regarded this method of attempting to prove or authenticate the truth of Christianity, by treating the resurrection as a natural fact, addressed to the natural apprehension, as weak, yea, as a surrender of the supernatural character of the holy mystery. The apologists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England, laid great stress on this argument, as, for instance, in Sherlock's "*Trial of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus* (1729)." Sherlock's *Trial of the Witnesses* was conducted after the manner of the English courts of judicature, and sought, in conformity with English taste, to adduce strict legal evidence for the fact of the resurrection, of which Dr. Dörner says: "It was apparent that such merely historical proofs of single historical facts as would compel belief are not possible, or at least are not capable of becoming the foundation of such a faith as Christianity demands."

The same thing may be said of the miracles of our Lord. They do

not authenticate Christ, but He authenticates them. They attested Him only where there was already some faith in Him. He never performed them before unbelievers in order to prove to them in this way His mission. When they asked a sign, He said no sign would be given them except the sign of the prophet Jonah.

Perhaps we have not properly apprehended the author's meaning in this passage, but it seems to us that it presents a falling off from the general line of argument in his book. Throughout the volume the evidence is drawn from Christianity, or rather Christ in His own true supernatural character, but here it seems to us to descend to a lower plane. We trust this friendly criticism, should it meet the eye of the esteemed author, will only serve to indicate the interest we have taken in his work, and the high appreciation we have of its worth.

**THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF SIN.** By John Tulloch, D.D., Principal of St. Mary's College in the University of St. Andrew's; one of Her Majesty's Chaplains for Scotland. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co.

The opening lecture is on *The Question of Sin in Relation to Modern Schools of Thought*. Principal Tulloch here takes up the two sources of man's nature, the one from the side of nature, the other the world of spirit. He shows that the tendency of thought is to ignore the one or the other of these. One class of thinkers seek for man's origin in nature alone. This is especially the case with the school of Darwin. Everything in creation, including man, according to these writers, comes in the way of evolution from the powers lodged in the original material of the world. Others, in the line of idealism, tend to ignore the material side of man, and find in him only spiritual being. The true view is to hold to man's double nature. According to Kant's saying, there are two worlds to be considered, "the starry heavens above, and the moral law within." Man's spiritual nature comes from above, but it is joined in inseparable union with nature in the constitution of his person. All true anthropology must regard these two sides of man's nature.

The lecture then goes on to speak of the method of treating of Sin as an anthropological fact. J. Müller, in his great work on the subject, treated sin as a fact in human consciousness. Principal Tulloch prefers the historical method, or rather he joins the historical method with that of Müller, and then in the analysis brings each point under the light of divine revelation. Thus the doctrine of sin becomes a department of theology, under the special head of anthropology. He then indicates the course he intends to pursue in the further consideration of the subject. "I shall endeavor, therefore, in these Lectures to treat first the growth of the idea of evil, in its most general aspect, as it meets us in those forms of religious culture which preceded or were entirely outside of that divine education of the Hebrew race under which the special consciousness of sin was developed. . . . I shall then pass to consider the idea of evil, as apprehended by the Hebrew mind, &c."

The second Lecture, accordingly, takes up the subject of sin just as it appears in pre-historic and savage religions, then in the religion of ancient Egypt, and in the Vedic and Hellenic mythologies. The treatment here is very interesting, and is accompanied by valuable notes in an appendix.

The third lecture takes up the subject as it appears in the Old Testament, where the different terms are explained by which sin is designated. In the development of the Old Testament economy the idea is more clearly revealed. "It everywhere comes forth as an act of the human will done against the divine will." With the "revival of divine consciousness in the Hebrew people the consciousness of sin revived, deepened, and became more real. It was felt as an offence not merely against divine law or precept, but against a divine Person, a living One who had claims on the life of His servants, and the violation of whose commandments was disobedience to His will."

The fourth Lecture discusses the doctrine of sin as contained in the Gospels; the fifth, the doctrine of St. Paul's Epistles, and the sixth, original sin. The view on original sin, or imputation, follows pretty closely in the channel of the Westminster Confession, yet with due credit to the theory of the organic union of the race. We would dissent from his idea of the imputation of guilt as the source of sin in the descendants of Adam. Yet we can commend the whole discussion as worthy of careful thought and study. It is an earnest and able contribution to theological science.

**THE BOOK OF PSALMS: A New Translation.** With Introduction and Notes, Explanatory and Critical. By J. J. Stewart Perowne, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Canon of Llandaff. Vols. I and II. From the Third London Edition. Andover: Published by Warren F. Draper, Main Street. 1876.

The author proposed three things in this excellent work: 1. To give a new translation of the Psalms; 2. By means of introductions to the several Psalms, and by explanatory notes, to convey to the English reader a true idea of the scope and meaning of each; and 3. In a series of notes, to discuss the criticism of the text, the various readings, the grammatical difficulties, and other matters of interest rather to the scholar than to the general reader.

The author had before him the very best authorities in his criticism of the text. So also the latest commentaries, Moll's Commentary in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, the 2d edition of Delitzsch's Psalter, the 3d edition of Ewald's work on the Psalms, the 2d edition of Hitzig's Commentary, and others. He presents a valuable Introduction, containing chapters on: 1. David and the Lyric Poetry of the Hebrews; 2. The use of the Psalter in the Church and by individuals; 3. The Theology of the Psalms; 4. The formation of the Psalter; 5. The Inscriptions of the Psalms.

The work is published in the very best style, making two large volumes of over 500 pages each.